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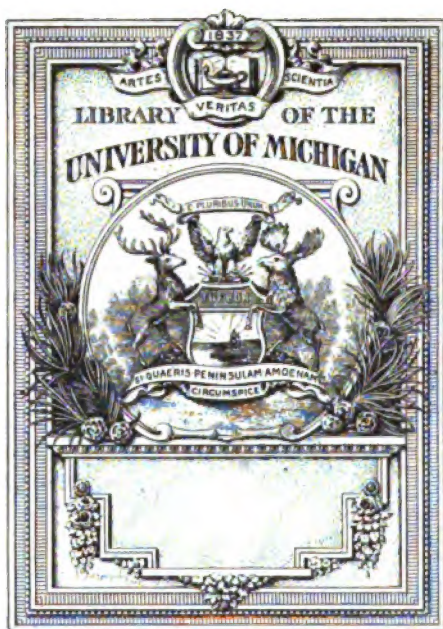
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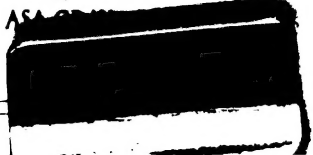
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**THE
HISTORY
OF
ANCIENT GREECE.
VOL. IV.**

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19

THE
HISTORY
OF
ANCIENT GREECE,
ITS COLONIES, AND CONQUESTS,

Part the First ;
FROM THE EARLIEST ACCOUNTS
TILL THE
DIVISION OF THE MACEDONIAN EMPIRE
IN THE EAST ;
INCLUDING THE HISTORY OF
LITERATURE, PHILOSOPHY, AND THE FINE ARTS.

BY JOHN GILLIES, LL.D.

F.R.S. AND S.A. LONDON, F.R.S. EDINBURGH, INSTIT. SOC. PARIS, AND
ACADEM. REGIÆ SCIENC. GOTTING. CORRESP.
AND HISTORIOGRAPHER TO HIS MAJESTY FOR SCOTLAND.

Εκ μὲν τοιγὲ τῆς ἁπλῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλα συμπλοκῆς καὶ παραθεσῶς,
ἐπὶ δὲ ὁμοιοτήτος καὶ διαφορᾶς, μόνως τις ἀν ἐφικέτο, καὶ διηγήθει
κατορτεύσας, ἅμα καὶ τὸ χρησίμῳ καὶ τὸ τέρπον ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας
λαβεῖν.
POLYBIUS, l. i. c. v.

THE SIXTH EDITION.
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HISTORY
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FOUR hundred and sixteen years before the Christian æra, and little more than half a century before Philip assumed the government of Macedon, that country, to a superficial observer, might have appeared scarcely distinguish-

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The kingdom of Macedon founded

CHAP.
XXXIII.

by Cara-

nus.

A. C. 814.

able from the barbarous kingdoms of Thrace, Pæonia, and Illyricum, which surrounded it on the north, east, and west. Towards the south, it was excluded from the sea by a chain of Grecian republics, of which Olynthus and Amphipolis were the most flourishing and powerful. To this inland district, originally confined to the circumference of about three hundred miles, Caranus, an Argive prince of the numerous race of Hercules, eluding the dangers which proved fatal to royalty¹ in most communities of Greece², conducted a small colony of his adventurous and warlike countrymen, and, having conquered the barbarous natives, settled in Edessa, the capital of the province then named Emathia, and afterwards Macedonia, for reasons equally unknown.³ The establishment of this little principality, which, under Philip, grew into a powerful kingdom, and, under Alexander, swelled into the most extensive empire known in the ancient world, was adorned (could we believe historic flattery) by many extraordinary circumstances, presaging its future greatness. The gods took care of the infancy of Macedon, and sent, as oracles had announced, a herd of goats to conduct Caranus to his new capital of Edessa, which thence changed its name to *Ægæ*, the city of goats; a fiction unworthy of record, did it not explain the reason why goats were adopted as the ensigns of Macedon, and why figures of

¹ Justin. l. vii. c. i. Velleis Paternulus, l. i. c. vi.

² See vol. i. p. 105.

³ Cæphius Antiquit. Macedon.

those animals are still to be seen on the coins of Philip, and those of his successors.

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Prudent
conduct
of its first
kings the
primary
cause of
the great-
ness of
Macedon.

Caranus, as well as the princes Cœnus⁴ and Thyrimas, who immediately followed him, had occasion to exercise their prudence not less than their valour. Their feeble colony of Greeks might have fallen an easy prey to the unhospitable ferocity of the fierce tribes, by whom it was on all sides surrounded. But the policy of the first kings of Macedon, instead of vainly attempting to repel or to subdue, endeavoured, with more success, to gain, by good offices, the ancient inhabitants of Emathia and the neighbouring districts. They communicated to them the knowledge of many useful⁵ arts; they gave them the Grecian religion⁶ and government⁷ in that state of happy simplicity which prevailed during the heroic ages; and while, to render intercourse more easy and familiar, they adopted, in some degree, the language and manners of the barbarous natives, they in their turn imparted to the latter a tincture of the Grecian language and civility.⁸ By this judicious and liberal system, so unlike to that pursued by their countrymen in other parts of the world, the followers

⁴ Justin ubi supra, Eusebii. Chronic.

⁵ Pausanias Achaic. & Thucyd. l. ii.

⁶ Arrian. Exped. Alexand. l. iv. p. 83.

⁷ Φίλιππος μὲν παῖδι, Ἡρακλεῖδῃ δὲ ἀπὸ γυναικός, ὅτι αἱ προγονοὶ ἐκ Ἀργεῶς εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἦλθον, πρὶν εἰς ἄλλα νομῆναι, Μακεδόνων ἀρχόντες διατελέσαντες. Arrian, l. iv. p. 86. In another passage of the same book he says, the subjects of Macedon had more liberty than the citizens of Greece.

⁸ Demosthenes, Arrian, and Curtius.

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Transac-
tions of
the Mace-
donians
preceding
the reign
of Arche-
laus I.
A.C. 713
—416.

of Caranus gradually associated with the warlike tribes in their neighbourhood, whom it would have been alike impossible for them to extirpate or to enslave; and the same generous policy, being embraced by their descendants, deserves to be regarded as the primary cause of Macedonian greatness.

Perdiccas, the first of that name, so far eclipsed the fame of his three predecessors, that he is accounted the founder of the monarchy by Herodotus⁹ and Thucydides.¹⁰ His history has been magnified by fable, which has also obscured or distorted the actions of the five princes¹¹ that intervened between him and Alexander I. who filled the Macedonian throne when Xerxes invaded Greece.¹² Here we attain historic ground. Alexander, as related above¹³, acted an important and honourable part in the affairs of Greece and Persia, without neglecting the interest of his own kingdom, which he extended to the river Nessus on the east, and to the Axius on the west. His son, Perdiccas II., inherited the abilities of his father, without imitating his integrity. During the Peloponnesian war, the alliance of this prince formed an object of important concern to the Athenians and Lacedæmonians. He espoused the cause of the latter, which he regarded as his own, because the Athenians, who had occasion-

⁹ Herodot. l. viii. c. cxxxvii.

¹⁰ Thucyd. l. ii. p. 168.

¹¹ Argeaus I. Philip I. Æropus I. Alcetes, Amyntas I. Justin. l. vii. c. ii.

¹² Herodot. l. v. c. xix.

¹³ Vol. i. p. 487.

ally levied tribute on his ancestors¹⁴, were then masters of the Greek settlements along the northern coast of the *Ægean*, the vicinity of which naturally tempted the ambition of *Perdiccas*. Under the specious pretence of enabling *Olynthus* and the other cities of *Chalcidicé* to recover their independence, he lent his aid to destroy the Athenian influence there, expecting to establish the Macedonian in its stead. But this design failed of success. The *Olynthian* confederacy was broken, its members became subject to *Sparta*, and after the misfortunes of that republic had encouraged the *Olynthians* to resume their freedom, they felt themselves sufficiently powerful not only to resist the encroachments of *Macedon*, but to make considerable conquests in that country.¹⁵

Archelaus I., who succeeded to the throne, displayed an enlightened policy, far more beneficial to his kingdom than the courage of *Alexander*, or the craft of *Perdiccas*. Like those princes, *Archelaus* was ambitious to enlarge his dominions, (having conquered *Pydna* and other towns in the delightful region of *Pieria*¹⁶) but his main care was to cultivate and improve them. He facilitated communication among the principal cities of *Macedon*, by cutting straight roads through most parts of the country; he built walls and places of strength in the situations most favourable for that purpose; encouraged agriculture

The state of Macedon greatly improved by that prince.
A. C. 416
— 410.

¹⁴ *Thucyd.* ubi supra, et *Demosthenes* passim.

¹⁵ See above, vol. iii. c. xxix. p. 320. et seq.

¹⁶ *Diodor. Sicul.* l. xiii. c. xvi.

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and the arts, particularly those subservient to war; formed magazines of arms; raised and disciplined a considerable body of cavalry; and, in a word, added more to the solid grandeur of Macedon than had been done by his eight predecessors collectively.¹⁷ Nor was he regardless of the arts of peace. His palace was adorned by the works of Grecian painters. Euripides was long entertained at his court; Socrates was earnestly solicited to live there after the example of this philosophic poet, formed by his precepts, and cherished by his friendship; men of merit and genius, in all the various walks of literature and science, were invited to reside in Macedon, and treated with distinguished regard by a monarch duly attentive to promote his own glory and the happiness of his subjects.¹⁸

Series of
usurp-
ations and
revolu-
tions.
A. C. 405
—560.

A reign of six years was too short a period for accomplishing the important ends which Archelaus had in view. By his death the prosperity of Macedon was interrupted for almost half a century, crowded by a succession of ten¹⁹ princes or usurp-

¹⁷ Thucydides says, "than the eight kings who preceded him," counting Perdiccas for the first. *Ἀρχέλαος δὲ Περδικκας υἱός, βασιλεὺς γενομένος τὰ τεῖχη πῦρ ὄντα ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἐπέλαμψε καὶ, ἴδὼς εὐθείας ἐγχεῖν, καὶ τὰλλα διεκοσμήσει τότε κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἵπποις καὶ ὄπλοις καὶ τρᾶλλῃ παρασκευῇ κρείσσειν ἢ ζυμπαρτεῖν ἄλλῳ βασιλεὺς ὀκτὼ δὲ πρὸ αὐτοῦ γενομένοι.* Thucydides, p. 168.

¹⁸ Aristot. Rhetor. l. ii. c. xxix. Stobæus Sermion. 237.

¹⁹ Their names, with the dates of their accession or usurpation are as follows:

1 Orestes,	A. C. 405	6 Argæus II.	A. C. 385
2 Æropus II.	402	Amyntas again	re-esta-
3 Archelaus II.	394	blished	383
4 Amyntas II.	392	7 Alexander II.	372
5 Pausanias,	391	8 Perdiccas III.	371
Amyntas II.	390	9 Ptolemy,	370

ers, whose history forms a perpetual series of crimes and calamities. Amidst these disorders, the sceptre still remained in the family of Hercules; but almost every prince of the blood had an ambition to reign. In order to attain their purpose, the different competitors courted the assistance of the Thracians, of the Illyrians, of the Thessalians, of the Olynthian confederacy, of Athens, of Sparta, and of Thebes; and each of those powers endeavoured to turn to their own immediate profit the dissensions in Macedon. Bardyllis, an active and daring chief, who by his abilities in acquiring, and his equity²⁰ in dividing the spoil, had risen from the condition of a private robber to the command of the Illyrian tribes, entered Macedon at the head of a numerous army, dispossessed Amyntas II. the father of Philip, and placed Argæus on the throne, A. C. 365. who consented to become the tributary of his benefactor.²¹ The Thracians supported the title of another prince named Pausanias: but the assistance of Thessaly and Olynthus enabled Amyntas to resume the government; the Olynthians refusing, however, to surrender several places of importance which Amyntas had entrusted to their protection, or which they had conquered from his competitor, Amyntas complained to Sparta; and that republic, for reasons above²² related, declared war against

Perdiccas, A. C. 368.

Ptolemy, 367.

Perdiccas, 365.

10 Amyntas, A. C. 360.

To him Philip succeeded in the same year.

²⁰ Cicero de Offic. l. ii.

²¹ Diodor. l. xiv. c. xcii

²² See vol. iii. c. xxix. p. 329.

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A. C. 380.

Olynthus, and reinstated the Macedonian king in full possession of his dominions. In consequence of this event, Amyntas established, and thenceforth held his court at Pella, where he enjoyed several years of tranquillity, cultivating the friendship of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians.

The
usurper
Pausanias.

The short reign of his son Alexander was disturbed by a fresh invasion of the Illyrians, from whom he purchased a precarious peace.²³ He left two brothers, Perdiccas and Philip, of whom the elder was still a minor. Availing himself of *their* youth and weakness, Pausanias found means to usurp the throne, being supported not only by the Thracians, but by a considerable body of Greek mercenaries, as well as by a powerful party in Macedon.

Dethroned
by Iphi-
crates, at
the en-
treaty of
Eurydicé.
A. C. 370.

Iphicrates, the Athenian, happened at this critical juncture to return from Amphipolis, the recovery of which formed the main object of his expedition. In former journies to the coast of Thrace, he had been treated with distinguished regard by Amyntas, whose widow Eurydicé now craved the protection of Iphicrates for the sons of his friend. This princess was descended from the Bacchiadæ, the noblest family of Corinth, who, rather than live on an equality with their fellow-citizens in that republic, had become the leaders of the Lyncestæ, a barbarous tribe inhabiting the most western district of Macedon. Eurydicé inherited all the ambition of her race, and was distinguished by a bold intriguing spirit²⁴ still more than by her beauty

²³ Diodorus & Justin. ubi supra.

²⁴ Justin. l. vii. c. iv.

and accomplishments. With her young sons she suddenly appeared before Iphicrates, in the supplicating form of calamity and woe; presented the eldest to his hand, placed Philip, the younger, on his knee, and conjured him, by "the sincere friendship which Amyntas had ever entertained for Athens and for himself, to pity their tender years, oppressed by cruel usurpation." The dignity of her sorrow prevailed with Iphicrates, who respected the sacred ties of hospitality, and who saw the advantage that might accrue to Athens by gaining an interest in Macedon. We are not informed by what means he established Perdiccas on the throne. The revolution was effected with such rapidity²⁵, that we may suppose a sudden insurrection of the people, who, on important emergencies, were accustomed, as in the heroic ages, to assemble in arms.

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During the minority of the young prince, the kingdom was governed by his natural brother Ptolemy, whose ambition, unsatisfied with a delegated power, openly aspired to reign. This usurper (as we have related above), was dethroned by Pelopidas and the Thebans, who reinstated Perdiccas in his dominions; and, in order to secure the dependence of Macedon on Thebes, carried into that city as hostages thirty Macedonian youths, and with them Philip, the younger brother of the king.

Ptolemy dethroned by Pelopidas, who sends Philip as a hostage to Thebes. A.C. 367.

Perdiccas seemed proud of his chain. Elated with the protection of the Thebans, then in the height of their prosperity, he forgot the gratitude

Perdiccas defeated by the Illyrians.

²⁵ Cornel. Nepos, in Iphicrat. *Æschin. de falsa Legatione.*

CHAP. due to Iphicrates and the Athenians; disputed
XXXIII. the right of that people to Amphipolis, which had
 been acknowledged by the general council of
 Greece²⁶; and his opposition rendered fruitless
 their well-directed endeavours to recover that
 important establishment. The Athenians found
 an avenger in Bardyllis the Illyrian, to whom
 Perdiccas had denied the tribute that had been
 paid by his predecessors Argæus and Alexander.
 Bardyllis maintained his claim by force of arms.
 The Macedonians met him in the field, but were
 totally defeated with the loss of four thousand
 men.²⁷ Perdiccas was taken prisoner, and soon
 after died of his wounds. His son Amyntas was
 an infant. Thebes having lost her pre-eminence
 in Greece, was unable to protect her distant allies.
 Athens was hostile, and Macedon, surrounded
 by enemies on every side, already experienced
 the fury of Barbarian invaders.

Macedon
 distracted
 by two
 pretenders
 to the
 throne,
 and deso-
 lated by
 four
 foreign
 armies.

Not only the Illyrians and Bardyllis, who ra-
 vaged the west, but the Pæonians, a powerful
 and warlike tribe, having received some cause of
 offence from Perdiccas, now indulged their re-
 venge, and insulted the northern frontier with-
 out interruption or controul. The Thracians
 still supported the cause of Pausanias, whom they
 prepared to send back into Macedon at the head
 of a numerous army. Ptolemy was dead; but
 Argæus, the ancient competitor of king Amyntas,
 emboldened by the victory of the Illyrians, who
 had formerly placed him on the throne, renewed

²⁶ Demosth. de falsa Legat.

²⁷ Diodor. l. xvi. sect. 2.

his pretensions to that dignity ; and, grown old in intrigue, easily persuaded the Athenians, by the hopes of recovering Amphipolis, to exert themselves in his favour, especially against the son and brother of Perdiccas, by whose insolence and ingratitude they were justly provoked and disgusted. Impelled by such motives, the Athenians launched their fleet, and sailed towards the coast of Macedon, with three thousand heavy-armed men, commanded by Mantias.²⁸

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Such were the evils which threatened, and the calamities which oppressed, that unfortunate and distracted kingdom, when Philip appeared, asserting, unterrified, the rights of his infant nephew, against two candidates for the throne, and four formidable armies. A prince of less courage than Philip would have shrunk from a design seemingly desperate and impracticable ; and had courage been his principal virtue, he would have only heightened the disorders which he hoped to remedy.²⁹ But on this emergency, the young Macedonian (for he was only in his twenty-third year³⁰) displayed those extraordinary abilities which distinguish his reign, and render it the most interesting spectacle that history can present to those who are delighted with surveying, not the vulgar revolutions of force and fortune, but the active energies and resources of a vigorous and comprehensive mind. Such was the obscurity in which his merit had hitherto lain

Amidst these calamities Philip arrives in Macedon. Olymp. cv. 1. A. C. 360.

²⁸ Diodorus, ubi supra.

²⁹ Olivier Vie de Philippe, p. 47.

³⁰ Comp. Diodor, p. 510 & Justin. l. ix. c. viii.

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His education,
and transactions
preceding
that period.

concealed from the public, that historians³¹ disagree as to the place of his residence, when he was informed of the defeat and death of his brother Perdiccas. From the age of fifteen he had lived chiefly in Thebes, in the family and under the direction of Epaminondas³², whose lessons and example could not fail to excite, in a kindred mind, the emulation of excellence, and the ardour of patriotism.³³ It is probable, that, agreeably to the custom of Greece and Rome, where the youth alternately frequented the school and the camp, and might sometimes find a school of philosophy in the tent of a general, that Philip accompanied the Theban hero in many of his military expeditions. It is certain that, attended suitably to his rank, he visited the principal republics of Greece, whose institutions in peace and war he examined with a sagacity far superior to his years.³⁴ The tactics of the Lacedæmonians were the first new establishment which he introduced into Macedon. Nor was the improvement of his knowledge the only fruit of his travels. The brother of a king found an easy access to whomever he had an interest to know and cultivate. Even in Athens, then hostile to Thebes,

³¹ Diodorus places him in Thebes: Athenæus, l. ii. p. 506, in Macedon; and adds *διατρεφέν δε εν ταυθα δυναμω, ως απεθανε Περδικκας, ες ιταμω, δυναμεις διαρχουσας, επεσσε τοις πραγμασι*. Words which admirably correspond to the rapid motions of Philip after the death of Perdiccas.

³² Plutarch. in Pelopida.

³³ Plutarch speaks with the partiality of a Boeotian for Epaminondas, and the resentment of a native of Chæronea against Philip. See Plutarch. in Pelop.

³⁴ Plutarch. in Alexand. Athenæus, l. xi. p. 506.

and naturally unfavourable to a pupil of Epaminondas, Philip acquired the friendship and esteem of Plato³⁵, Isocrates³⁶, and Aristotle³⁷; and the early connection which he formed with the principal leaders of Athens and the neighbouring republics, contributed, perhaps, in no small degree; to the success of his future designs.³⁸

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His seasonable appearance in Macedon, after the defeat and death of Perdiccas, suddenly changed the fortune of that seemingly devoted kingdom. Yet our admiration of Philip ought not to make us overlook the favourable circumstances which seconded his abilities, and conspired to promote his success. The places of strength built by Archelaus furnished a secure retreat to the remains of Perdiccas's army; the Macedonians, though conquered, were not subdued; they had considerable garrisons in the fortresses and walled towns scattered over the kingdom³⁹; their whole forces had not been engaged in the unfortunate battle with the Illyrians⁴⁰; and those fierce invaders, impatient of delay, and only solicitous for plunder, having ravaged the open country, returned home to enjoy the fruits of their violence and rapine. They probably intended soon to assault Macedon with increased numbers, and to complete their devast-

The Illyrians evacuate Macedon.

³⁵ Athenæus, l. xi. Ælian, l. iv. c. xix.

³⁶ Isocratis Epistolæ, & Oratio and Philipp.

³⁷ Aristotle at this time lived in the Academy with Plato, where, most probably, Philip first saw him. Dionys. Halicarnas. Epist. ad Ammæum.

³⁸ Demosthen. passim.

³⁹ Thucyd. l. xi. p. 168.

⁴⁰ Athenæus, l. xi. p. 506.

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State of
Thrace
and Pæo-
nia.

ations ; but they seem to have been alike unqualified to concert or to pursue any permanent plan of conquest; and being distinguished, as historians relate, by their blooming complexions, active vigour, and longevity⁴¹, they were not less distinguished by that irregular and capricious mode of acting, and that inattention to remote consequences, which characterise the manners of Barbarians.

The warriors of Pæonia and Thrace⁴² were less formidable by their numbers, and equally contemptible for their ignorance and indocility. In early times, the Pæonians indeed had been regarded as a tribe less savage, and more considerable⁴³ than their Macedonian neighbours ; but the former had remained stationary, in the rudeness of their primitive state, while the latter had been improved by a Grecian colony, and by frequent communication and intercourse with the Grecian republics. Of the Thracians we have had occasion to speak in the preceding parts of this work. The destructive ravages of Seuthes⁴⁴ represent the ordinary condition of that unsettled and inhospitable country, sometimes united under one chief, more frequently divided among many, whose mutual hostilities banished agriculture, industry, and every useful art. Exclusive of the Grecian settlements on the coast, Thrace contained not any city, nor even any considerable town. The

⁴¹ Lucian in Macrobiis, & Cornel. Alexand. apud Plinium, lib. vii. cap. clvii.

⁴² Cornel. Nepos in Iphicrat. Xenoph. Anab. l. vii. p. 393.

⁴³ Hippocrat. de Epidem.

⁴⁴ See vol. iii. p. 235. et seq.

Barbarian Cotys, who was dignified with the title of king, led a wandering life, encamping on the banks of rivers with his flocks and followers.⁴⁶ War and pasturage formed the only sources of his grandeur, and even the only means of his subsistence.

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Such were the first enemies with whom Philip had to contend. Their own capricious unsteadiness delivered him from the Illyrians. To the Pæonians, who ravaged the north, he either sent a deputation or applied in person; and partly by bribes, partly by artful promises and flattery, persuaded the invaders to retire. The same arts prevailed with the selfish king of Thrace⁴⁷, whose avarice readily sacrificed the cause of Pausanias, while Philip thought the remaining wealth of Macedon usefully consumed in removing those barbarous foes, that he might resist, with undivided strength, the more formidable invasion of Argæus and the Athenians.

Philip disarms the resentment of those countries.

The Athenian fleet already anchored before the harbour of Methoné; Argæus, with his numerous followers, had encamped in the province of Pieria; and their united forces prepared to march northward to Edessa, or Ægæ, the ancient capital of Macedon, where they expected to be joined by a powerful party, whom fear or inclination would bring to the standard of the banished king. The Macedonians who adhered to the

Philip declared king of Macedon. Olymp. cv. 1. A. C. 360.

⁴⁶ Atheneus, l. xii. p. 331.

⁴⁷ Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi. sect. 3. Horace alludes to these events:

——— diffidit urbium
Portas vir Macedo, et subruit æmulos
Reges numeribus. Lib. iii. Ode 16.

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to the interest of Perdiccas, or rather of his infant son, had been dispirited by the recent victory of the Illyrians, and the misfortunes consequent on that event. But the manly exhortations, and undaunted deportment of Philip, roused them from their despair. They admired the dexterity with which he had disarmed the resentment of the Thracians and Pæonians. His graceful person, insinuating address, and winning affability, qualities which he possessed in a very uncommon degree⁴⁷, gained the affection of the Macedonians, who either recollected, or were studiously reminded of a prophecy⁴⁸, that announced great glory to their nation under the reign of the son of Amyntas. In an assembly held at *Ægæ*, they exclaimed with one consent, "This is the man whom the gods point out as the founder of the Macedonian greatness. The dangerous condition of the times admits not of an infant reign. Let us obey the celestial voice, and entrust the sceptre to hands alike worthy to hold and able to defend it."⁴⁹ This proposal seemed not extraordinary in a country which had long been accustomed to interruption in the lineal order of succession. Amyntas was set aside, and Philip, who had hitherto possessed

⁴⁷ *Æschin. de falsa Legatione.*

⁴⁸ In the Sibylline verses preserved by Pausanias (in Achaic.) Philip is named as the author of the Macedonian greatness, and the destruction of the kingdom is foretold under another Philip. These verses, though evidently composed after the event, serve to confirm the facts, that the superstition of the multitude was wrought upon for the purposes of Philip. Justin. l. vii. c. vi.

⁴⁹ *Ibid. idem.*

only the delegated power of regent was invested with the royal title and authority.⁵⁰

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While all ranks of men were thus animated with affectionate admiration of their young king, the obsolete claims of Argæus could only be maintained by arms. Attended by his Athenian allies, he marched towards Edessa; but that strong-hold shut its gates against him. Dispirited by this repulse, he made no farther attempts to gain admission into any of the Macedonian cities, but directed his course backward to Methoné. Philip, who had now collected sufficient strength to take the field, harassed his retreat, cut his rear to pieces, and defeated him in a general engagement, in which Argæus himself fell, with the flower of his army. The rest, whether Greeks or Barbarians, were made prisoners of war.⁵¹

He defeats the pretender Argæus, and his Athenian auxiliaries.

It was on this occasion that Philip first displayed that deep and artful policy, which, in the course of a long reign, gained him such a powerful ascendant over the passions of other men, and enabled him uniformly to govern his own by the interest of his ambition. In the midst of prosperity, his proud and lofty spirit must have been highly provoked by the Athenians, as well as by the followers of Argæus: and the barbarous maxims and practices which prevailed in that age, left him at full liberty to wreak his vengeance on the unhappy prisoners of both, who had fallen into his hands. But the interest

Uncommon treatment of the Athenian and Macedonian prisoners.

⁵⁰ Diodorus, l. xvi. sect. 3.

⁵¹ Diodorus, *ibid.* & Demosth. in Aristocrat.

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of Philip required him rather to soothe than to irritate the people of Athens, and to obtain by good offices (what he could not command by force) the confidence of his Macedonian subjects. The captives of the latter nation were called into his presence, rebuked with gentleness and humanity, admitted to swear allegiance to their new master, and promiscuously distributed in the body of his army. The Athenian prisoners were treated in a manner still more extraordinary.⁵² Instead of demanding any ransom for their persons, he restored their baggage unexamined, and entertained them at his table with such condescending hospitality, that they returned home, full of admiration for the young king, and deeply persuaded of his attachment and respect for their republic.⁵³

Philip
amuses the
Athenians
with a
treaty of
peace and
friendship.
Olymp.
cv. 2.
A. C. 359.

They had only time to blaze forth the praises of Philip, when his ambassadors arrived at Athens.⁵⁴ He knew that the loss of Amphipolis principally excited the resentment of the Athenians: he knew that the interest of Macedonia required that resentment to be appeased. Impressed with these ideas, he renounced all jurisdiction over Amphipolis, which was formally

⁵² The fair side of Philip's character is described by Diodor. l. xvi. p. 510, et seq. and 539. By Just. l. ix. c. viii. The most disadvantageous description of him is given by Demosthenes, *passim*, and by Theopompus in Athenæus, l. iv. c. xix. l. vi. c. xvii. & l. x. c. x. Cicero seems to have totally disregarded the angry assertions of Demosthenes, when, in speaking of Philip and Alexander, he says, "*Alter semper magnus, alter sæpe turpissimus.*" But the artificial character of Philip, which varied with his interest, merits neither the panegyrics nor the invectives too liberally bestowed on it.

⁵³ Demosthenes in Aristocrat.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

declared a free and independent city, subject only to the government of its own equitable laws.⁵⁵ This measure, together with the distinguished treatment of the Athenian prisoners, insured success to his embassy. An ancient treaty was renewed, that had long subsisted between his father Amyntas and the Athenians. That capricious and unsteady people, not less susceptible of gratitude than prone to anger were thus lulled into repose, at a time when fortune having placed them at the head of Greece, both their present power and ancient glory urged them to take the front of the battle against Philip. Confiding in the insidious treaty with that prince, they engaged in a ruinous war with their allies⁵⁶; and ceased, during several years, to make any opposition to the ambitious designs of the Macedonian.

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The young king having given such illustrious proofs of his abilities in negotiation and war, availed himself of the affectionate admiration of his subjects to establish, during a season of tranquillity, such institutions as might maintain and extend his own power, and confirm the solid grandeur of Macedon. The laws and maxims which prevailed in the heroic ages, and which, as we have already observed, had been early introduced into that kingdom, circumscribed the royal authority within very narrow bounds. The chiefs and nobles, especially in the more remote provinces, regarded themselves as the rivals and equals of their sovereign. In foreign war they

Philip institutes the order of *δορυφοροι*, spearmen, *compagnons*. Olymp. cv. 2. A. C. 359.

⁵⁵ Polyæn. Stratag. l. iv. c. 17.

⁵⁶ See vol. iii. c. xxxii.

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followed his standard, but they often shook his throne by domestic sedition; and, amidst the scanty materials for explaining the internal state of Macedon in ancient times, we may discover several instances in which they disavowed their allegiance, and assumed independent government over considerable districts of the country.⁵⁷ The moment of glory and success seemed the most favourable for extinguishing this dangerous spirit, and quashing the proud hopes of the nobles. In this design Philip proceeded with that artful policy which characterises his reign. From the bravest of the Macedonian youth, he selected a choice body of *companions*⁵⁸, who, being distinguished by honourable appellations, and entertained at the royal table, attended the king's person in war and in hunting. Their intimacy with the sovereign, which was regarded as a proof of their merit, obliged them to superior diligence in all the severe duties of a military life.⁵⁹ The generous youths, animated with the hope of glory, vied with each other to gain admission into this distinguished order; and while, on one hand, they served as hostages⁶⁰ for the allegiance of their families, they formed on the other, an useful seminary of future generals⁶¹, who, after conquering for Philip and Alexander,

⁵⁷ Strabo. l. vii. p. 386. Xenoph. Hist. Græc. l. v.

⁵⁸ Arrian, & Ælian.

⁵⁹ Ælian, l. xiv. c. 49.

⁶⁰ Arrian says, "των εν τελει Μακεδωνων τες παιδας," "the sons of men in office;" which well agrees with the idea of their being hostages for the fidelity of their parents. He also ascribes the institution to Philip. Εκ φιλιππου ηδη καθεστηκος. Arrian, l. iv. p. 89.

⁶¹ Curtius, l. viii. c. 6.

at length conquered for themselves, and divided the spoils of the ancient world.

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His mili-
tary ar-
range-
ments.

It is ignorantly said by some writers⁶², that Philip, in the first year of his reign, invented the phalanx, a body of six thousand men, carrying short swords, fit either for cutting or thrusting; strong bucklers, four feet in length, and two and a half in breadth; and pikes fourteen cubits long, which heavy-armed brigade, usually arranged sixteen deep, formed the main battle of the Macedonians. But this is nothing different from the armour and arrangement which had always prevailed among the Greeks, and which Philip adopted in their most perfect form; nor is there reason to think that a prince, who knew the danger of changing what the experience of ages had approved, made any alteration in the weapons or tactics of that people.⁶³ His attention was more judiciously directed to procure, in sufficient abundance, arms, horses, and other necessary instruments of war; in reviewing and

⁶² Diodorus Siculus, l. xvi. s. 3. and all the Roman writers of Greek history. It was natural for the Romans, who began to know Greece and Macedon almost at the same time, and who found the phalanx most complete in the latter, to suppose it invented in that country.

⁶³ The improvement in the countermarch, to which Philip gave the appearance of advancing, instead of retreating, mentioned by Ælian in his tactics, c. xxviii. was borrowed, as this author tells us, from the Lacedæmonians. If Philip increased the phalanx, usually less numerous, to six thousand men, this was far from an improvement; and the latter kings of Macedon, who swelled it to sixteen thousand, only rendered that order of battle more unwieldy and inconvenient: The highest perfection of Grecian tactics is to be found in Xenophon's expedition. See vol. iii. c. xxvi. p. 208. et seq. See also Polyb. l. xvii. p. 764. & Liv. l. xlv. c. 40.

CHAP. exercising his troops; and in accustoming them
XXXIII. to that austere and laborious life⁶⁴, which is the
 { best preparation for the field.

Conquers
 Pæonia.
 Olymp.
 cv. 3.
 A. C. 358.

The military resources which his activity had provided, his ambition did not allow to remain long unemployed. The death of Agis, the most warlike chieftain; or, as he is called by an historian⁶⁵, king of the Pæonians, drew Philip into the field, to revenge recent injuries which those Barbarians had inflicted on Macedon. Among a people where the laws of peace or war are neglected or unknown, almost every thing depends on the precarious character of their leaders. Deprived of the valour of Agis, the Pæonians lost all hopes of defence. Philip over-ran their country without resistance; carried off slaves and plunder; imposed a tribute on their chiefs; received hostages; and reduced Pæonia to an absolute dependence on Macedon.

Defeats
 the Illyri-
 ans and ex-
 tends his
 territory to
 the Ionian
 sea.

It is probable that, according to the practice of the age, he permitted or required a certain number of the vanquished to follow his standard; for the Pæonians were no sooner reduced, than Philip, to whom all seasons seemed alike proper for war, undertook a winter's campaign against Bardyllis and the Illyrians, the hereditary enemies of his family and kingdom. He marched towards the frontier of Illyria⁶⁶ at the head of ten thousand foot and six hundred horse, and, before entering

⁶⁴ Polyænus, l. iv. c. 3. Frontin. Strat. l. iv. c. 1.

⁶⁵ Diodorus, l. xvi. sect. 4.

⁶⁶ The Greek name of this country is *Ιλλυρίς*, but more commonly
 & *Ιλλυριοί*, from its inhabitants. Vid. Arrian, l. i. passim. The Latin

the country, animated the resentment and valour of his troops by a military oration, after the custom of the Greeks, whose manners he seemed, on every occasion, ambitious to imitate. Indignation of past injuries, the honour of his subjects, and the glory of his crown, might be topics proper to influence the Macedonian soldiers⁶⁷, who could not fully enter into the more refined motives of their sovereign. Illyria had been extended on the east, to the prejudice of Macedon, which it totally excluded from the excellent harbours on the Hadriatic.⁶⁸ This was an important consideration to a prince who seems to have early meditated the design of raising a naval power. Besides this, it was impossible for Philip to undertake with safety the other measures which he had in view, should he leave his kingdom exposed to the predatory incursions of a neighbouring enemy, who, unless they feared Macedon, must always be formidable to that country. Directed by such solid principles of policy, rather than governed by resentment, or allured by the splendour of victory, Philip pro-

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name is *Illyricum*; most English writers of ancient history use *Illyria*, probably from the French *Illyrie*. The Greek *Ιλλυρίς* is described by Strabo, l. vii. p. 317. It comprehended the eastern shore of the Hadriatic, between Epirus and Istria. The Latin *Illyricum* had a signification far more extensive. Appian. *Illyric. sub. init.* & Gibbon's *History*, vol. i. p. 27.

⁶⁷ The heads of the speech are given, indirectly, in the fragments of Theopompus.

⁶⁸ Strabo says πάντα τον Ιλλυρικον (scilicet χωρον) σφοδρα ευλιμνωσιναι; and adds, that the shore of Illyria is as abundant, as the opposite coast of Italy is defective in good harbours. Strabo, l. vii.

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ceeded forward, with the caution necessary to be observed in an hostile territory. After a fruitless negociation, Bardyllis met him in the field with an adequate body of infantry, but with only four hundred horse. The precise scene of the engagement is unknown. The Macedonian phalanx attacked the Illyrian column⁶⁶ in front, while the targeteers and light-armed troops galled its flank, and the cavalry harassed its rear. The Illyrians, thus surrounded on every side, were crushed between opposite assaults, without having an opportunity to exert their full sirength.⁶⁷ Their resistance, however, must have been vigorous, since seven thousand were left on the field of battle, and with them their gallant leader Bardyllis, who fell, at the age of ninety, fighting bravely on horseback. The loss of their experienced chief, and of the flower of their youthful warriors, broke the strength and courage of the Illyrian tribes, who sent a deputation to Philip, humbly craving peace, and submitting their fortune to the will of the conqueror. Philip granted them the same terms⁷¹ which he

⁶⁶ The Illyrians were drawn up in the order of battle called *πλωθιον* from *πλωθος*, a brick; which clearly points out its form.

⁷⁰ Frontinus Stratag. l. ii. c. 3.

⁷¹ It should seem from Diodorus, that the Illyrians had entertained the same superstitious terror of neglecting the interment of the dead, which prevailed among the Greeks. Yet Diodorus, perhaps, only used a privilege too common among historians, of transferring their own feelings to those concerning whom they write. He says, that Philip "restored their dead, and erected a trophy." Pausanias (in *Bœotic*.) denies that either Philip or his son Alexander ever erected any of those monuments of victory; which practice, he says, was contrary to a Macedonian maxim, established as early as the time of

had lately imposed on the Pæonians. *That* part of Illyria which lies east of the lake Lychnidus, he joined to Macedon; and probably built a town and settled a colony on the side of the lake, which watered a fertile country, and abounded in different kinds of fishes, highly esteemed by the ancients. The town and lake of Lychnidus were fifty miles distant from the Ionian sea; but such was the ascendant that the arms and policy of Philip acquired over his neighbours, that the inhabitants of the intermediate district soon adopted the language and manners of their conquerors; and their territory, hitherto unconnected with any foreign power, sank into such an absolute dependence on Macedon, that many ancient geographers considered it as a province of that country.⁷²

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Having settled the affairs of Illyria, Philip returned home, not to enjoy the sweets of victory and repose, but to pursue more important and more arduous designs than those which he had hitherto carried on with such signal success. He had secured and extended the northern and western frontier of Macedon; but the rich southern shores, chiefly inhabited by Greeks, presented at once a more tempting prize, and a more formidable enemy. The confederacy of Olynthus, having thrown off

Philip's
designs
against
Amphi-
polis.
Olymp.
cv. 4.
A.C. 357.

Caranus, when a lion having overturned one of his trophies, the wise founder of the monarchy regarded this event as a warning to forbear raising them in future. But the medals of Philip and Alexander, of which the reverse is sometimes charged with trophies, refute the assertion of Pausanias; which is likewise contradicted by Arrian, Curtius, and all the writers of the life, or expedition, of Alexander.

⁷² Strabo, l. vii. p. 327.



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the yoke of Sparta, had become more powerful than ever. It could send into the field ten thousand heavy-armed men, and a large body of well-disciplined cavalry. Most towns of the Chalcidicé had become its allies or subjects; and this populous and wealthy province, together with Pangæus on the right, and Pieria on the left, the cities of both which were either independent, or subject to the Athenians, formed a barrier sufficient not only to guard the Grecian states against Macedon, but even to threaten the safety of that kingdom. Every motive concurred to direct the active policy of Philip towards acquisitions immediately necessary in themselves, and essential to the completion of his remote purposes. In the course of twenty years, he accomplished his designs, and conquered Greece; often varying his means, never changing his end; and notwithstanding the circumstances and events that continually thwarted his ambition, we behold the opening and gradual progress of a vast plan, every step in which paved the way for that which followed, till the whole ended in the most signal triumph, perhaps, ever attained by human prudence, over courage and fortune.

Import-
ance of
that place.

The importance of Olynthus and Chalcidicé could not divert the sagacity of Philip from Amphipolis, which he regarded as a more necessary, though less splendid, conquest. The possession of Amphipolis, which would connect Macedon with the sea, and secure to that kingdom many commercial advantages, opened a road to the woods and mines of mount Pangæus, the former

of which was so essential to the raising of a naval power, and the latter to the forming and keeping on foot a sufficient military force. The place itself, Philip, in the beginning of his reign, had declared independent, to avoid a rupture with the Athenians, who still asserted their pretensions to an ancient and long favoured colony. But their measures to regain Amphipolis had hitherto been rendered ineffectual by the caprice or perfidy of Charidemus, a native of Eubœa, who, from the common level of a soldier of fortune, had risen to the command of a considerable body of mercenaries, frequently employed by the indolence and licentiousness of the Athenians, a people extremely averse both to the fatigue and restraint of personal service. They determined, however, to renew their attempts for recovering their dominion, while the Amphipolitans, having tasted the sweets of liberty, prepared to maintain their independence.

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In this posture of affairs, the hostile designs of Philip, which all his artifice had not been able to conceal from the suspicious jealousy of the new republic, alarmed the magistrates of Amphipolis, and obliged them to seek protection from the Olynthians, who readily admitted them into their confederacy. Emboldened by this alliance, they set at defiance the menaces of their neighbouring, as well as of their more distant enemy; and their imprudent insolence readily furnished Philip with specious grounds of hostility. The Olynthians perceived that the indignation of this prince must soon break forth into action, and overwhelm

Amphipolis enters into the Olynthian confederacy.

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the Amphipolitans ; while they themselves might be involved in the ruin of their new confederate. To anticipate this danger, they sent ambassadors to Athens, requesting an alliance with that republic against the natural enemy of both states, and an enemy whose successful activity rendered him a just object of terror.

The intrigues of Philip prevent an alliance between Athens and Olynthus.

This alliance, had it taken place, must have given a fatal blow to the rising greatness of Macedon, which as yet was incapable of contending with the united strength of Olynthus and Athens. The spies and emissaries of Philip (for he had already begun to employ those odious, but necessary, instruments of policy) immediately gave the alarm. The prince himself was deeply sensible of the danger, and determined to repel it with equal vigour and celerity. His agents reached Athens before any thing was concluded with the Olynthian deputies. The popular leaders and orators were bribed and gained ; the magistrates and senate were flattered and deceived by the most plausible declarations and promises. A negotiation was immediately set on foot, by which Philip stipulated to conquer Amphipolis for the Athenians, on condition that they surrendered to him Pydna, a place of far less importance. He promised, besides, to confer many other advantages on the republic, which it was not proper at present to mention, but which time would reveal.⁷³ Amused by the arti-

⁷³ Καὶ τὸ θρῦλλον μὲν ποτὲ ἀπορρητὸν ἔκειτο. Demosthen. Olynth. i. p. 6. edit. Wolfii. It is strange that Wolfius has changed the order of the Olynthian orations, so distinctly marked by Dion. Halicarn. in his letter to Ammaeus.

fices of the Macedonian, deceived by the perfidy of their own magistrates, and elated with the hopes of recovering Amphipolis, the great object of their ambition, the senate of the Five Hundred (for the transaction was carried on with such haste as allowed not time for assembling the people) rejected with disdain the overtures of the Olynthians ⁷⁴, who returned home disgusted and indignant.

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They had scarcely time to communicate to their countrymen the angry passions which agitated their own breasts, when the ambassadors of Philip craved audience in the assembly of Olynthus. That artful prince affected to condole with the Olynthians on the affront which they had received from the insolence of Athens; but, at the same time, testified his surprise, that they should condescend to court the distant protection of that proud republic, when they might find in Macedon an ally near at hand, who wished for nothing more earnestly than to enter into equal and lasting engagements with their confederacy. As a proof of his moderation and sincerity, he offered immediately to put them in possession of Anthemus, a town of some importance in their neighbourhood, the jurisdiction of which had long been claimed by the kings of Macedon ⁷⁵; also in strong terms assuring them of his intentions to deserve their gratitude by still more important services, and particularly by employing his arms to

Artifices
by which
he gained
the Olyn-
thians.

⁷⁴ Demosthenes expresses it in the strongest terms, as if they had driven the Olynthians from Athens. *ὅτε Ολυνθίους ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐξέβαλεν.* Demosthen. Olynth. i. p. 6

⁷⁵ Demosthen. Philip. ii. 4.

CHAP. reduce the cities of Pydna and Potidæa, commanding the opposite sides of the Thermaic gulph; places, therefore, of considerable value, which he wished to see dependent on Olynthus, rather than, as at present, subject to Athens.

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Philip be-
siegues Am-
phipolis.
Olymp.
ev. 4.
A. C. 357.

The immediate offers of Philip, his professions and promises, in which, as they suited his interest, he doubtless was sincere, and still more, his secret practices with some powerful men of Olynthus, effectually prevailed with that republic to abandon the cause of Amphipolis, whose imprudent inhabitants had been at little pains to prevent those offences and complaints which naturally arise between the jealous members of an unequal confederacy. By these intrigues, the Macedonian not only removed all opposition to his views, on the part of the Olynthians, but acquired the sincere friendship of that people, who were ready to reinforce his arms, and to second his most ambitious designs. He therefore prepared for action, because he might now act with safety; marched rapidly towards Amphipolis, and pressed that city with a vigorous siege. The inhabitants, deeply affected by the near prospect of a calamity which they had taken little care to prevent, had recourse, in their distress, to Athens. Thither they dispatched Hierax and Stratocles, two of their most distinguished citizens, to represent the danger of alliance between Philip and Olynthus; to intreat the Athenians to accept the sincere repentance of their unfortunate colony, and once more to take Amphipolis under the protection of their fleet.

At that time the Athenians were deeply engaged in the social war; yet the hopes of recovering so important a settlement might have directed their attention to Macedon, had not the vigilant policy of Philip sent them a letter, renewing the assurances of his friendship, acknowledging their pretensions to the city, which he actually besieged, and of which he artfully said; that, in terms of his recent engagement, he hoped shortly to put them in possession. Amused by these insinuating representations, the Athenians treated the deputies of Amphipolis with as little respect as they had lately done those of Olynthus. The besieged city was thus deprived of all hopes of relief; Philip pressed the attack with new vigour; a breach was made in the walls; and the Amphipolitans, after an obstinacy of defence which could have no other effect than to provoke the resentment of the conqueror, at length surrendered at discretion.⁷⁶

The prudent Macedonian always preferred his own profit to the punishment of his enemies. It was his interest to preserve and to aggrandise, not to depopulate, Amphipolis. He banished a few daring leaders, whose seditious or patriotic spirit might disturb the measures of his government. The bulk of the citizens were treated with mildness. Their commonwealth was incorporated with Macedon, from which Philip resolved that it should never be dismembered, notwithstanding his recent promises to the Athenians.

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XXXIII.

Amuses
the Athe-
nians.

Amphi-
polis sur-
renders.
Olymp.
cv. 4.
A. C. 357.

Is annexed
to Mace-
don.

⁷⁶ Diodor. l. xvi. c. viii. Demosthen. Olynth. iii. sect. 4—7.

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XXXIII.

Philip puts
the Olyn-
thians in
possession
of Pydna
and Poti-
dæa.

That he might arm himself against the resentment of a people, whom, if he could not deceive, he was determined to defy, he cultivated, with great earnestness, the Olynthian confederacy; and having besieged and taken the towns of Pydna and Potidæa, he readily ceded them to the Olynthians, who had but feebly assisted him in making these conquests. In the whole transaction Philip affected to act merely as an auxiliary. The Athenian garrison in Potidæa, who had surrendered themselves prisoners of war, he took under his immediate protection, and dismissed them without ransom, artfully lamenting that the necessity of his affairs, and his alliance with Olynthus, obliged him to oppose the interests of their republic, for which he entertained the most sincere respect.⁷⁷

Philip pur-
sues his
conquests
in Thrace.

It is impossible that the Athenians, weak and credulous as they were, should have been the dupes of this gross artifice. But they could not immediately withdraw their exertions from the social war, the events of which grew continually more unprosperous. Philip, ever vigilant and active, profited of this favourable diversion, to pursue his conquests in Thrace, to which the possession of Amphipolis afforded him an opening. In the beginning of his reign, he had found it necessary to purchase a peace from Cotys, who still governed that country, but from whom Philip could not actually apprehend any formidable opposition. The late acquaintance of that Barbarian with the Grecian

⁷⁷ Diodor. l. xvi. c. viii. & Demosth. Philip. ii. & Olynth. i.

religion and manners, which he had adopted in consequence of his connection with Iphicrates and the Athenians, served only to deprave his faculties and to cloud his reason. We should pronounce absolutely mad, the man who fancied himself enamoured of Minerva; but the ancients, who believed that the gods often appeared in a human form, regarded with more tenderness this frantic enthusiasm. Cotys was allowed to possess his freedom and his crown, whether, with his ambulatory court, he traversed the inhospitable mountains of Thrace, or pitched his tents on the fragrant banks of the Strymon or the Nessus; or to enjoy with more privacy the favours of his celestial mistress, penetrated into the deep recesses of the beautiful forests which adorned the central division of his kingdom.

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XXXIII.

Takes possession of the gold mines at Crenidæ, afterwards called Philippi. Olymp. cv. 4. A. C. 557.

At the approach of the Macedonians, having abandoned the grove of Onocarsis, the favourite scene of his wild pursuits and romantic enjoyments⁷⁸, he endeavoured to stop the progress of the enemy by a letter; but a letter from such a man was calculated to excite only ridicule or pity. Philip penetrated eastward thirty miles beyond Amphipolis, to the town of Crenidæ, situated at the foot of mount Pangæus. He admired the solitary beauty of the surrounding district, which being bounded on one side by the sea, and on the other by lofty mountains, was watered by many streams and rivulets, which, tempering the dryness of the soil, pro-

⁷⁸ Theopomp. apud Athenæum, l. xii. p. 551.

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duced the finest and most delicious fruit, and flowers, especially roses, of a peculiar hue and fragrant. But the attention of Philip was attracted by objects more important, the rich mines of gold in that neighbourhood, formerly wrought by colonies from Thasos and from Athens, but totally neglected since the ignorant Thracians had become masters of Crenidæ. Philip expelled those Barbarians from a possession which they seemed unworthy to hold. Having descended into the gold-mines, he traced, by the help of torches, the decayed labours of the ancient proprietors. By his care the water was drained off; the canals, broken or choaked up, were repaired; and the bosom of the earth was again opened and ransacked⁷⁹ with eager avidity by a prince who well knew the value of the precious metals. A Macedonian colony was planted at Crenidæ, which thenceforth assumed the name of Philippi⁸⁰, a name bestowed also on the golden coins struck by order of Philip⁸¹, to the annual amount of nearly a thousand talents, or two hundred thousand pounds sterling.⁸²

Philip
settles the

Having effected the main purpose of his Thra-

⁷⁹ Senec. Natur. Quæst. l. v. p. 760. & Demosthen. in Leptin.

⁸⁰ The fatal defeat and death of Brutus and Cassius have eclipsed, in their melancholy splendour, all the preceding events which distinguish Philippi. There liberty expired, and virtue yielded to force.

Cum fracta virtus, & minaces
Turpe solum tetigere mento.

HORACE.

⁸¹ Regale numisma Philippos.

⁸² Diodor. l. xvi. c. 9. Justin. l. viii. c. 3. speaks differently; but the whole of that chapter bears evident marks of ignorance and error.

cian expedition, the prudence of Philip set bounds to his conquests in that country, and carried his arms into Thessaly, which, by the murder of Alexander of Pheræ, had got three tyrants instead of one. These were, Tissiphonus, Pitholaus, and Lycophron, the brothers-in-law, the assassins, and the successors of Alexander. The resentment of the Thessalians, and the valour of the Macedonian troops, totally defeated those oppressors of their country, who were reduced to such humiliating terms as seemed sufficient to prevent them from being thenceforth formidable either to their own subjects or their⁸³ neighbours. The Thessalians, who were susceptible of all impressions, but incapable of preserving any, concluded, in the first emotions of their gratitude, an agreement with their deliverer, by which they surrendered to him the revenues arising from their fairs and towns of commerce, as well as all the conveniences of their harbours and shipping; and, extraordinary as this cession was, Philip found means to render it effectual and permanent.⁸⁴

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XXXIII.
affairs of
Thessaly.

Advantages which
he derived
from that
country.

He immediately contracted an alliance with Arybbas, King of Epirus, a small principality which skirted the western frontier of Thessaly. In his excursions from Thebes, Philip had early seen Olympias, sister to that prince, whose wit and spirit, joined to the lively graces of her youth and beauty, had made a deep impression

Philip
marries
Olympias.
Olymp.
cv. 4.
A.C. 357.

⁸³ Diodor. l. xvi. c. 14. & Plut. in Pelopid.

⁸⁴ Demosth. Philip. l. x. Polyæn. Stratag. l. iv. c. 19.

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on his heart. They were initiated, at the same time, in the mysteries of Ceres, during the triennial festival in the isle of Samothrace, which had been long as much distinguished as ⁸⁵ Eleusis itself, by the peculiar worship and protection of this bountiful goddess. But the active ambition, which employed and engrossed the first years of Philip's reign, should seem to have banished every other passion, when his expedition into Thessaly recalled the image of Olympias. Their first interview naturally revived his admiration or love; and, as the kings of Epirus were lineally descended from Achilles, the match appeared every way suitable; Arybbas readily yielded his consent, and the beautiful princess was conducted into Macedon. ⁸⁶

During the solemnities of his nuptials, the neighbouring princes take arms.

The nuptials of Philip were solemnised at Pella with unusual pomp and splendour. Several months were destined to religious shows and processions, to gymnastic games and exercises, to musical and dramatic entertainments. The young and fortunate prince naturally took a principal share in all these scenes of festivity; and it is probable that, amidst the more elegant amusements of his court, Philip might discover that strong propensity to vicious indulgence, that delight in buffoons and flatterers, and other disgraceful ministers of his more criminal pleasures, which, however counteracted and balanced by his ambition and magnanimity, disgraced and tarnished the succeeding glories of his reign.

⁸⁵ See vol. iii. c. 21. p. 46.

⁸⁶ Justin, l. vii. c. 6.

It is certain that the voluptuous inactivity in which he seemed sunk, encouraged the hopes of his enemies.⁸⁷ The tributary princes of Pæonia and Illyria prepared to rebel; the King of Thrace concurred in their designs, which were concerted with more caution than is usual with Barbarians; and this general conspiracy of neighbouring states might have repressed, for a while, the fortune of Macedon, if Philip had not been seasonably informed of the danger by his faithful partisans and emissaries in those countries.

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Early in the ensuing spring he took the field with the flower of the Macedonian troops. Parmenio, the general in whom he had most confidence, crushed the rebellion in Illyria. Philip was equally successful in Pæonia and Thrace. While he returned from the latter, he was informed of the victory of Parmenio. A second messenger acquainted him that his horses had gained the prize in the chariot-races at the Olympic games; a victory which he regarded as far more honourable, and which, as it proved him a legitimate son of Greece, he carefully commemorated, by impressing a chariot on his coins. Almost at the same time a third messenger arrived to tell him that Olympias had brought forth a prince at Pella; to whom, as born amidst such auspicious circumstances, the diviners announced a life of boundless prosperity.⁸⁸

Philip
quashes
their con-
spiracy.
Olymp.
cvi. 1.
A. C. 356.

Such a rapid tide of good fortune did not

Philip's
letter to

⁸⁷ Diodor. l. xvi. c. 22.

⁸⁸ Plut. in Alexand.

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Aristotle,
announc-
ing the
birth of
Alexander.

overset the wisdom of Philip, if we may judge by the first authentic transaction which immediately followed those events. This was the correspondence with Aristotle the philosopher, whose merit Philip had early discerned at Athens, while the young Stagirite still resided with his master Plato. The first letter (fortunately preserved) is written with a brevity which marks the King and the man of genius. "Know that a son is born to us. We thank the gods, not so much for their gift, as for bestowing it at a time when Aristotle lives. We assure ourselves that you will form him a prince worthy of his father, and worthy of Macedon." Aristotle commenced this illustrious employment about thirteen years afterwards⁹⁹, when the opening mind of Alexander might be supposed capable of receiving the benefit of his instructions. The success of his labours will be explained in the sequel. The

⁹⁹ The chronology appears from Dionysius of Halicarnassus's letter to Ammæus, who, in order to prove that Demosthenes had attained the highest perfection in the practice, before Aristotle had delivered the theory, of eloquence, marks, with great exactness, the principal events in the lives of the philosopher and orator. Aristotle, a native of Stagira, came to Athens in his eighteenth year, 367 A. C. There he continued twenty years, as the scholar or assistant of Plato, who died 348 A. C. Aristotle left Athens on the death of his master, and spent three years at Atarneus, and two at Mytlené. From thence he went to Macedon, in the forty-third year of his age, and 345 years A. C. He was employed eight years in the education of Alexander. He returned to Athens 335 A. C., taught twelve years in the Lyceum, and died the year following at Chalcis, ætat. sixty-three, A. C. 323, and a year after the death of Alexander. Dionysius ad Ammæum. He reckons by the Archons of Athens; I have substituted the years before Christ.

fortune of Alexander surpassed that of all other conquerors as much as his virtues surpassed his fortune. Yet the fame of the philosopher abundantly repays the honour reflected on him by his royal pupil, since sixteen centuries after the subversion of Alexander's empire, the writings of Aristotle still maintained an unexampled ascendant over the opinions, and even over the actions of men.

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CHAP. XXXIV.

Philip's Prosperity. — Imprudent Measures of the Amphictyonic Council. — The Phocian, or Sacred War. — Philomelus seizes the Temple of Delphi. — Takes the Field against the Thebans and their Allies. — Defeat and Death of Philomelus. — Affairs of Thrace, Macedon, and Attica. — Onomarchus takes the Command of the Phocians. — Encounters Philip in Thessaly. — He is defeated and slain. — Philip's Designs against Olynthus and Byzantium. — Traversed by the Athenians. — Phayllus takes the Command of the Phocians. — Philip marches towards Thermopylæ. — Anticipated by the Athenians. — Demosthenes's first Philippic. — Philip's Occupations at Pella. — His Vices — and Policy.

CHAP. **XXXIV.** PHILIP had now reigned almost five years. He had greatly enlarged the boundaries, he had still more augmented the revenues, of his kingdom. Pæonia, no longer the rival, was become an obsequious province of Macedon. At the expense of Thrace and Illyria, he had extended his frontier on the east to the sea of Thasos; on the west to the lake Lychnidus. He was master of Thessaly without having the trouble to govern it. He secured many commercial advantages by the possession of Amphipolis. His troops were numerous and well disciplined; his large finances were regulated with economy; and the mines of

Prosperity
of Philip
in the fifth
year of his
reign.
Olymp.
ævil. 1.
A. C. 356.

Philippi furnished him with an annual resource alike useful to his designs, whether he pursued the ambitious career of foreign conquest, or set himself to build up and consolidate the internal grandeur of his dominions.

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The power of Philip was admired and feared by those who were unable to penetrate the deep recesses of his policy, which alone rendered him really formidable. The first and most natural object of his desire was the territory of Olynthus, the most populous and fertile portion of the Macedonian coast. His second and far more arduous purpose was to obtain the sovereignty of Greece. But instead of discovering these designs, he had hitherto cultivated the Olynthians with a careful assiduity, and had deserved their gratitude by many solid and important services. His success had been complete; and if, elated by the many advantages which we have enumerated, he had already prepared to invade Greece, it is more than probable that the Olynthians would have consented to follow his standard. But Philip was sensible, that by snatching too eagerly at this valuable prize, he might blast for ever his prospect of obtaining it. While the Athenians were occupied and harassed by the destructive war with their confederates, he had, indeed, embraced the opportunity to gain possession of several of their dependent settlements in Thrace and Macedon; colouring, however, these proceedings by the pretence of justice or necessity, and tempering even his hostilities by many partial acts of kindness and respect. Be-

His profound and impene-
trable po-
licy.

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fore the social war was ended, the seeds of dissension, so profusely scattered in Greece, were likely to ripen into a new quarrel far more general and important. Philip patiently waited their maturity. His hopes were founded on the domestic animosities of Greece; but the unseasonable discovery of his system might have united an hundred thousand¹ warriors against their common enemy; whereas, by the secret refinements of a slow and steady policy, he effected his vast purposes without being obliged, on any one occasion, to fight against thirty thousand men.

He carefully watches the imprudent measures of the Amphictyonic council;

The Amphictyons having recovered their authority in consequence of the events which have formerly been described, began early to display those dangerous passions with which the exercise of uncontrouled power too naturally corrupts the heart. They pretended, that, during the decline of their jurisdiction, many unwarrantable abuses had been introduced, which it became them to remedy. The rights of religion (they said), which it was their first duty to maintain, had been materially violated by the Phocians, who, alike regardless of the decision of the oracle, and of an Amphictyonic decree, had ploughed lands consecrated to Apollo, and therefore withdrawn

¹ The number is chosen as a very moderate medium between the two hundred and twenty thousand men, afterwards promised to Philip in the general convention of the states at Corinth for the service of the Persian expedition, and the eighty thousand which the Greeks actually raised against Xerxes, and which Thucydides says, that the Peloponnesian confederacy alone could send into Attica.

from agriculture.² These lands, however, were confined to the narrow district between the river Cephissus and Mount Thurium, on the western frontier of Bœotia. The crime of the Phocians (if their useful labours deserve the name of crime) was neither great nor unprecedented, since the Locrians of Amphissa had long cultivated the Crissæan plain; a more extensive territory, and consecrated to the god by far more awful ceremonies.³ But the proud tyranny of the Amphictyons, careless of such distinctions, fulminated an angry decree against Phocis, commanding the sacred lands to be laid waste, and imposing a heavy fine on that community.

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It is believed that the Thebans, enemies and neighbours to Phocis, and whose influence at that time predominated in the council, were the principal abettors of this arbitrary measure⁴; a supposition rendered probable by the ensuing deliberations of the Amphictyons. Their next sentence was directed against Sparta, to punish the injury of Phæbidas, who, in time of peace, had surprised and seized the Theban citadel. This breach of public faith, however criminal and flagrant, had been committed so many years before, that prudence required it to be for ever buried in obscurity. But, at the instigation of the Thebans, the Amphictyons brought it once more to light; commanded the Lacedæmonians to pay a fine of five hundred talents; decreed that the fine should be doubled, unless paid

which are
principally
abetted by
the The-
bans;

² See vol. i. c. 5. p. 224.

³ See vol. i. c. 5. p. 22. et seq.

⁴ Justin. l. viii. c. 1. et seq.

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who excite
the resent-
ment of the
Phocians.
Olymp.
cv. 4.
A. C. 357.

within an appointed time ; and, if the decree were finally disregarded, that the Lacedæmonians should be treated as public enemies to Greece.*

The Phocians, singled out as the first victims of oppression, were deeply affected by their danger. To pay the money demanded of them, exceeded their faculties. It would be grievous to desolate the fields which their own hands had cultivated with so much toil. The commands of the Amphictyons were indeed peremptory ; but that council had not on foot any sufficient force to render them effectual, should the devoted objects of their vengeance venture to dispute their authority. This measure, daring as it seemed, was strongly recommended by Philomelus, whose popular eloquence and rash valour gave him a powerful ascendant in Phocis. He possessed great hereditary wealth ; contemned the national superstition ; and being endowed with a bold, ambitious spirit, he expected to rise amidst the tumult of action and danger, to unrivalled pre-eminence in his republic. After repeated deliberations, in which he flattered the vanity, and tempted the avarice of his countrymen, by proving, that to them of right belonged the guardianship of the Delphian temple, and the immense treasures contained within its sacred walls †, he brought the majority of the senate and

* Diodor. l. xvi. c. 23. et seq.

† Philomelus cited the respectable authority of Homer :

Αὐτὰρ Φυκίων Σχέδιος καὶ Ἐπιστροφὸς ἦρχον,

Ὅτι Κυπαρισσῶν εἶχον Πυθωνα τε πετρῆεσσιν.

"But Schedius and-Epistrophus led the Phocians, who inhabited Cyparissus, and the rocky Python," the ancient name of Delphi.

assembly into his opinion. As the properest instrument to execute his own measures, Philomelus was named general : the Phocian youth flocked to his standard ; and his private fortune, as well as the public revenues were consumed in purchasing the mercenary aid of those needy adventurers who abounded in every province of Greece.

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The following year was employed by Philomelus in providing arms, in exercising his troops, and in an embassy which he undertook in person to Sparta. As that community had not discharged the fine imposed by the Amphictyons, the penalty was doubled, the delinquents being condemned to pay a thousand talents. The exhortation of this imposition might have justified the Spartans in following the example of Phocis, and setting the Amphictyons at defiance. But Archidamus, who possessed all the caution and address of his father Agesilaus, was unwilling to take a principal part in the first dangerous experiment, and to post himself in the front of battle, against the revered decrees of an assembly, considered as the legal guardian of national religion and liberty. He assured Philomelus that both himself and the Spartans fully approved his cause ; that reasons of a temporary nature hindered their declaring themselves openly, but that he might depend on secret supplies of men and money.⁷

The Phocians under Philomelus prepare for war, and engage the Spartans in their cause. Olymp. cvi. 1. A. C. 356.

⁷ Ὁ δὲ Ἀρχίδαμος ἀποδεξαμένος τὸν λόγον, φανερώς μιν, κατὰ τὸ παρόν, ἐκ εἴησε βοηθῆσαι, λαβρά δὲ πάντα συμπράξειν, χρήματα καὶ μισθοφόρους. Diodor. l. xvi. p. 426.

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Philomel-
lus seizes
the temple
of Delphi.
Olymp.
cvi. 2.
A. C. 355.

Encouraged by this assurance, and by a considerable sum^s immediately put into his hands, Philomelus, at his return, ventured on a measure not less audacious than unexpected. The temple of Delphi, so awfully guarded by superstition, was scarcely defended by any military force. Philomelus, having prepared the imagination of his followers for this bold enterprise, immediately conducted them towards Delphi, defeated the feeble resistance of the Thracidæ, who inhabited the neighbouring district, and entered the sacred city with the calm intrepidity of a conqueror. The Delphians, who expected no mercy from a man devoid of respect for religion, prepared themselves, in silent horror, for beholding the complicated guilt of sacrilege and murder. But the countenance of Philomelus re-assured them, and his discourse totally dispelled their ill-grounded fears. He declared that he had come to Delphi, with no hostile disposition against the inhabitants, with no sacrilegious designs against the temple. His principal motive was to emancipate the one and the other from the arbitrary proceedings of the Amphictyons, and to assert the ancient and unalienable prerogative of Phocis to be the patron and protector of the Delphian shrine. To the same purpose he scattered declarations through the different republics of Greece; his emissaries acquainted the Spartans that he had destroyed the brazen tablets containing the unjust decrees against Sparta and Phocis; they inflamed the resentment of the

^s Diodorus (l. xvi. p. 426.) says fifteen talents.

Athenians, naturally hostile to Thebes; and both those republics came to the resolution of supporting the measures of Philomelus.

CHAP.
XXXIV.

Employs
the sacred
treasure
in raising
mercena-
ries.

The Thebans, on the other hand, who *directed*, and the Locrians, Thessalians, with other states of less consideration, who tamely *obeyed* the decrees of the Amphictyons, determined to take the field in defence of their insulted religion and violated laws. Their operations were conducted with that extreme slowness natural to confederacies. Philomelus acted with more vigour. He received little assistance from his distant allies. But, first, by imposing a heavy tax on the Delphians, who had been enriched by the devotion of Greece, and then, notwithstanding his declaration, by taking very undue liberties with the treasure of Apollo⁹, he collected above ten thousand mercenaries, men daring and profligate as himself, who sacrificed all scruples of religion to the hopes of dividing a rich spoil. Such at least was the general character of his followers. To the few who had more piety, or less avarice, he endeavoured to justify his measures by the authority of an oracle. The Pythia at first refused to mount the sacred tripod. Philomelus sternly commanded her. She obeyed with reluctance, observing, that being already master of Delphi, he might act without sanction or controul.¹⁰ Philomelus waited for no other answer, but gladly interpreted the words as an acknowledgment of

⁹ Diodorus sometimes acknowledges, and sometimes denies, that Philomelus meddled with the sacred treasure.

¹⁰ Αποφθεγγαμένης δ' αὐτῆς πρὸς τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τοῦ βαλζόμενου ὅτι εἴσει αὐτὴ πρᾶξιαι ὁ βαλετάι. Diodor. p. 428.

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XXXIV.

Takes the
field
against the
Thebans
and their
allies.
Olymp.
cvi. 2.
A. C. 355.

his absolute authority ; and, with the address suitable to his situation and character, confirmed the auspicious declaration of the priestess by the report of many favourable omens. ¹¹

Having obtained the supposed sanction of religion, Philomelus proceeded to fortify the temple and city of Delphi, in which he placed a strong garrison ; and, with the remainder of his forces, boldly marched forth to repel the incursions of the enemy. During two years, hostilities were carried on with various fortune against the Locrians and Thebans. Victory for the most part inclined to the Phocians ; but there happened not any decisive action, nor was the war memorable on any other account but that of the excessive cruelty mutually inflicted and suffered. The Phocian prisoners were uniformly condemned to death, as wretches convicted of the most abominable sacrilege and impiety ; and the resentment of their countrymen retaliated with equal severity on the unhappy captives whom the chance of war frequently put into their hands. ¹²

Philomelus defeated.
Olymp.
cvi. 4.
A. C. 355.

As both armies anxiously expected reinforcements, they were unwilling to risk a general engagement, till chance rendered that measure unavoidable. Entangled among the woods and mountains of Phocis, the conveniency of forage attracted them towards the same point. The vanguards met unexpectedly near the town of Neoné, and began to skirmish. A general and fierce action followed, in which the Phocians were repelled

¹¹ Diodor. p. 429.

¹² Ibid. p. 430. et seq.

by superior numbers. Pathless woods, abrupt rocks and precipices, obstructed their retreat. In vain Philomelus strove with his voice and arm to rally the fugitives. He himself was carried along by the torrent to the brow of a precipice, afflicted with wounds, and still more with anguish and despair. The enemy advanced; it seemed impossible to escape their vengeance; the resolution of Philomelus was prompt and terrible; with a vigorous bound he sprang from the rock, thus eluding the torment of his own guilty conscience, and the resentment of his pursuers.¹³ While the Thebans and allies admired this catastrophe as a manifest visitation of divine vengeance¹⁴, Onomarchus, the lieutenant and brother of the Phocian general, collected and drew off the scattered remains of the vanquished army towards Delphi. The confederates determined to expel them from that holy place, and to inflict on the enemies of Greece and Heaven a punishment similar to that to which the wrath of Apollo had driven the impious Philomelus.¹⁵

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Different causes concurred to prevent Philip on the one hand, and Athens and Sparta on the other, from taking a principal or early part in the Phocian war. The interested policy of Ar-

The Spartans attempt to recover their dominion

¹³ Diodorus hints, that had Philomelus been taken captive, his body would have been shockingly mangled: φοβούμενος την εκ της ανηλεως αικιας. p. 432.

¹⁴ Such it appeared to future historians: και τουτων τον τροπον, δουντες ημ δαμονη δικας καταστρεψε τον βιον. Diodor. *ibid.*

¹⁵ Diodor. l. xvi. p. 432.

CHAP.
XXXIV.

the Peloponnesus.
Olymp.
cvi. 3.
A. C. 353.

Archidamus, who directed with absolute authority the councils of Sparta, was less anxious to support the arms of his distant confederates, than solicitous to recover the Lacedæmonian dominion in Peloponnesus. The opportunity seemed favourable for this purpose, the Thebans being deeply engaged in another contest, and the Athenians in strict alliance with Sparta. For several years, the arms and intrigues of Archidamus were employed against the Messenians, Arcadians, and Argives. But his ambitious design failed of success: the inferior cities of Peloponnesus, roused by a common danger, confederated for their mutual defence; and Athens, though actually the ally of Sparta, was unwilling to abandon to the tyranny of that republic her more ancient and faithful allies, the Arcadians and Messenians.¹⁶

The affairs of Thrace occupy Philip and the Athenians.

While the politics of the Peloponnesus formed a system apart, the sacred war shook the centre of Greece, and the affairs of Thrace occupied Philip and the Athenians. Cotys was dead; his sons, Kersobleptes, Berisades, and Amadocus, were all dissatisfied with the partition of his dominions. While their hostilities against each other exhibited the odious picture of fraternal discord, the prizes, for which they contended, were successively carried off by Philip. The

¹⁶ The question appears to have occasioned warm debates in the Athenian assembly: the Spartan and Arcadian parties were animated with the utmost zeal; and, according to Demosthenes, the Athenian orators, had they not spoke the Attic dialect, would have appeared, the one half Spartans, the other Arcadians. Demosthen. *pro Megalop.* p. 83.

encroachments of that prince at length engaged Kersobleptes, the most powerful of the co-heirs, to cede the Thracian Chersonesus to the Athenians, who sent Chares with a numerous fleet to take possession of that peninsula. The town of Sestos alone made resistance. It was taken by storm, and treated with great severity by Chares; while Philip besieged and took the far more important city of Methoné in Pieria. In this siege he lost an eye, a loss which he is said to have borne with the more impatience ¹⁷, as the circumstances attending it were alike dishonourable to his judgment and humanity. ¹⁸

It appears extraordinary that the Thebans, after the defeat and death of Philomelus, should not have pursued their good fortune, without allowing the enemy time to breathe and recover strength. They probably imagined that the fatal exit of that daring chief would deter a successor; and that the Phocians would crave peace, if not

Onomarchus takes the command of the Phocians. Olymp. cvi. 4. A. C. 353.

¹⁷ Lucian de Scribend. Hist. p. 365.

¹⁸ These circumstances, however, rest on the authority of Suidas and Ulpian. It is said, that when the arrow was extracted, the following inscription appeared on it: "Aster to Philip's right eye." Aster, it seems, had offered his services to Philip, as an excellent marksman; to which Philip replied, that he would employ him when he waged war with starlings. Philip caused the arrow to be shot back into the place, with a new inscription, "That he would hang up Aster;" a threat which was executed as soon as he became master of Methoné. Fictions still more incredible were related on this subject, by the fabulous writers of the age of Alexander. Philip, it was said, lost his right eye through unseasonable curiosity in prying into the amours of Olympias and Jupiter Ammon. This ridiculous flattery to Alexander had been so widely diffused, that it was supposed to be the subject represented on the celebrated vase, which is so much better explained by Mr. D'Hancarville. See *Recherches sur les Arts de la Grèce*, vol. ii.

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driven to despair. Such indeed was the resolution of the more respectable part of the Phocians. But the bold, impious, and needy, who composed the most numerous description of that people, were bent on continuing the war. An assembly was convened, when Onomarchus, in a set speech¹⁹, flattered their hopes, and encouraged them to persevere. His opinion prevailed; he was named general; and his conduct soon proved, that he equalled his brother in boldness and ambition, and surpassed him in activity and enterprise. None better knew the power of gold, or had more address in employing it. With the Delphic treasure he coined such a quantity of money as perhaps had never before circulated in Greece. The Phocian army was restored and augmented; their allies were rendered more hearty in their cause; even their enemies were not proof against the temptations which continually assailed their fidelity. By seasonable bribes, Onomarchus distracted the councils of Thebes, and kept their arms inactive. The neighbouring states were persuaded to observe a neutrality while the Thessalians, a people at all times noted for avarice and fraud²⁰, and of

¹⁹ Περφροντισमाणον λόγον διελθών. Diodor. p. 432.

²⁰ The Thessalians had the same character in Greece, as the Ligurians in Italy:

Vane Iūgus——

Nequicquam patrias tentasti lubricus artes.

VIRG.

Euripides speaks of the slippery deceits of the Thessalians. Demosthenes (Olynth. i. p. 4. ex edit. Wolf.) says, *εἴτα τα τῶν θετταλῶν ταῦτα γὰρ ἐπεὶ μὲν ἦν δὴ πρὸς φύσει, καὶ αἰεὶ πᾶσι ἀνθρώποις.* "Philip was farther distressed by the insurrections of the Thessalians, a people faithless by nature, at all times, to all men."

whose country the proverb said, that it had never produced a bad horse or an honest man, openly embraced the cause of Phocis. CHAP. XXXIV.

These multiplied advantages were not allowed to languish in the hands of Onomarchus, who hoped to drown the unjust motives of his enterprise in the sudden tide of victory. At the head of a numerous and well-appointed army, he poured down on Locris and Doris, ravaged the country, took Thronium by storm, laid several cities under contribution, penetrated into Bœotia, and made himself master of Orchomenus. The Thebans assembled their forces to stem the torrent. Onomarchus first met with a repulse before the walls of Chæronæa, and ventured not to renew the engagement, having weakened his forces by placing garrisons in the important places which he had taken, as well as by sending a detachment of seven thousand men, under his brother Phayllus, into Thessaly. ²¹

Success of his arms.

In that country, the intrigues of Philip had counteracted the gold of Onomarchus. But Lycophron, who was the chief partisan of the latter, and whom Philip had formerly divested of his usurped power, had again established himself in Pheræ. Pegasæ, Magnesia, and several places of less note, declared for the tyrant, and for Phocis. The Macedonian interest prevailed elsewhere; and the factions were equally balanced, when Philip, with his usual celerity, entered Thessaly, defeated Phayllus, besieged and took

He encounters Philip in Thessaly, and obliges him to retire.

²¹ Diodor. p. 434.

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Pegasse, and drove the enemy with disgrace towards the frontier of Phocis. The fear of losing his newly-acquired interest among the Thessalians, made Onomarchus evacuate Bœotia, and advance against Philip with his whole army. The Macedonians, though less numerous, did not decline the engagement. At the first charge the Phocians gave way, and retreated towards the neighbouring mountains. Philip ordered his men to pursue in their ranks. It was then that the Phocians really began the battle. Onomarchus foreseeing that the Macedonians would follow in close order, had posted a detachment on the summit of the precipice, who were ready, on a given signal, to roll down fragments of rock, and stones of an enormous size, on the embattled phalanx. This was the only mode of attack for which the Macedonians were not prepared. The line of march, in which the moment before they proceeded with such firmness and confidence, was converted into a dreadful scene of carnage and ruin. Before they recovered from their consternation, the flying Phocians, who had decoyed them into this ambush, returned to the charge. Philip, however, rallied his men; and while Onomarchus hesitated to advance, drew them off in good order, saying that they did not retreat through fear, but retired like rams, in order to strike with more impetuous vigour.²²

Onomarchus defeated and slain.

This saying was finally justified, although the Phocians and Lycophron first enjoyed a short

²² Polyxen. Stratag. l. ii. c. 28. Diódor. l. xvi. 34. et seq.

triumph. The tyrant established himself, as he thought, securely, in his native city; the Phocians, reinforced by their Thessalian allies, again invaded Bœotia, assaulted and took Coronæa, and dreadfully alarmed the Thebans, by the devastations committed in the very centre of their territory. But the time of vengeance arrived. Philip, having recruited his army, returned into Thessaly. The unsteady partisans of Lycophron, had they determined to share his danger, would have proved unable to support his cause. A considerable portion of the Thessalians received the King of Macedon as their deliverer. Onomarchus was thus obliged to withdraw his forces from Bœotia. At the head of twenty thousand foot and five hundred horse, he marched to the defence of Lycophron, and was met by the enemy, still more numerous, on the level coast of Magnesia. To remind his soldiers that they fought in the cause of Delphi and of Heaven, Philip crowned their heads with the laurel consecrated to Apollo, and adorned his ensigns and standards with the emblems and attributes of that divinity.* Their onset was impetuous and fierce, and their valour, animated by enthusiasm, rendered them irresistible, though the enemy, conscious of guilt, fought with the fury of despair. Three thousand Thessalian cavalry, who had signally contributed to the victory of Philip, rendered the pursuit bloody and destructive; while the Phocians, having thrown away their armour, fled towards the sea, allured by the sight

* Justin. l. viii. 2.

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of the Athenian fleet under Chares, which was returning from the Chersonesus. That commander seems not to have made any attempt to protect them. Above six thousand perished in the battle, or in the pursuit. The body of Onomarchus was found among the slain; Philip ordered it to be hung on a gibbet, as a mark of peculiar infamy; the rest were thrown into the sea, as unworthy, by their impious sacrilege, of the rites of funeral. Three thousand were taken alive; but it is not absolutely certain whether they were drowned, or reduced into captivity; though the latter opinion is the more probable.²⁴

Philip's
design
against
Olynthus
and By-
zantium.

It might be expected that such a decisive blow should have proved fatal to the Phocians. But Philip, who had conquered them in Thessaly, durst not pursue his advantages by invading Phocis; well knowing that an attempt to pass the straits of Thermopylæ would alarm not only his enemies but his allies. It was his interest to

²⁴ The leaving such a circumstance at all doubtful, is very dishonourable to the accuracy of Diodorus. His words are *τελος δε, των Φυκεων και μισθοφορων απηρεθησαν μεν υπερ τους εξακισχιλιους, εν οις ην και αυτος ο στρατηγος* ηλυσαν δε ουκ ελαττους των τρισχιλων ο δε Φιλίππος τον μεν Ονομαρχον εκρεμασεν, τους δε αλλους ως Ιεροσυλους καταποντισεν. Literally, "At length above six thousand of the Phocians and mercenaries were, on the one hand, taken up *dead*, among whom was the general. Not less than three thousand were, on the other hand, taken prisoners. Philip hung up Onomarchus, and threw the rest into the sea, as guilty of sacrilege." The learned reader will perceive, that I have given the full force of the word *απηρεθησαν*; and from the precise and distinctive force of the particles *μεν* and *δε*, which separate the two first clauses of the text, I am of opinion that the *τους αλλους* can apply only to the rest of those who were taken up *dead*. There is nothing determinate to be learned from the word *καταποντισεν*, which signifies barely to plunge into the sea.

perpetuate dissensions in Greece. For that reason he fomented the discord that reigned among the states of Peloponnesus; and though he had punished the obnoxious Phocians, he was unwilling to terminate a war which diverted the public attention from watching too studiously his own ambitious designs. His victory over an odious enemy extended his just renown. He secured the dominion of Thessaly, by planting garrisons in Pheræ, Pegasæ, and Magnesiâ. His army was ready to march towards Greece on the first favourable opportunity; but till this should arrive, he rejoiced to see both divisions of that country involved in hostilities, which allowed him to accomplish, unmolested, his lesser preparatory purposes. He had long deceived the Olynthians by good offices and promises, but now began to throw off the mask, and to shew that he meant to be their master. He actually applied to Kersobleptes, whom he detached from the interest of Athens; and having raised him on the ruins of the neighbouring chieftains of Thrace, thereby obtained his confidence, and waited an occasion to destroy him with security.²⁵ The dominions of that prince opened the way to Byzantium, the possession of which must have early tempted the ambition of Philip, who knew so well to estimate the importance of its situation both in commerce and in war. He began to discover his designs against Byzantium by attacking the fortress of

²⁵ Justin, l. viii. 3. Demost. Olynth. 2 & 3.

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Heræum, a place so called from the neighbouring temple of Juno, which formed its principal ornament. The town of Heræum was small, and in itself unimportant; its harbour was dangerous and deceitful; but being situate contiguous to Byzantium, it served as an outwork and defence to that rich and populous city.²⁶

The Athenians had sufficient penetration to discern the drift of those enterprises. They formed an alliance with the republic of Olynthus; they warned Kersobleptes of his danger; they voted a numerous fleet to sail to the defence of Heræum, or rather of Byzantium, with which, though rendered independent of Athens by the social war, they still carried on a lucrative commerce. But these spirited exertions were not of long continuance. Philip's wound at Methone, together with the continual labour and fatigue to which he had afterwards submitted, threw him into a dangerous malady. The report of his sickness was, before it reached Athens, magnified into his death. The Athenians rejoiced in so seasonable a deliverance, and laying aside their naval preparations, bent their principal attention to the sacred war.²⁷

The Phocian or sacred war continued by Phayllus.

Olymp. cviii. 1.

A. C. 352.

That unhappy contest was renewed by Phayllus, the last surviving brother of Philomelus and Onomarchus. As his cause became more desperate, Phayllus availed himself to the utmost of the only resource which was left him. Having converted into ready money the most precious

²⁶ Justin. l. viii. 3. Demosth. Olynth. 2 & 3.

²⁷ *Iidem, ubi supra.*

dedications of Delphi, he doubled the pay of his mercenaries. This extraordinary encouragement brought new adventurers to his standard, and soon rendered his army equal to that of either of his predecessors. The fugitive Thessalians, assembled in a body by Locophron, entered into his pay. By means of the Delphic treasure, he acquired, likewise, the public assistance of a thousand Lacedæmonians, two thousand Achæans, five thousand Athenian foot, with four hundred cavalry. These powerful reinforcements enabled the Phocians to take the field with a good prospect of success, and rendered those who had so lately been the objects of pity, again formidable to their enemies.²⁸

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Philip, meanwhile, had recovered from his indisposition. The votes and preparations of the Athenians had taught him that his designs could no longer be concealed. He was acquainted with the alliance formed between that republic and Olynthus. His emissaries gave him intelligence of the actual commotions in Greece, where the countenance and assistance of so many powerful states abetted the sacrilege of the Phocians. The occasion required that he should appear in favour of his allies, and in defence of the pious cause which he had formerly maintained with so much glory. His trophies gained over Onomarchus were still fresh and blooming; and not only the Thebans, Dorians, and Locrians, who were prin-

Philip, in order to oppose him, marches towards Thermopylæ.

²⁸ Diodor. p. 446.

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cipals in the war, but the sincere votaries of Apollo in every quarter of Greece, secretly expected him as their deliverer; while his enemies admired his piety and trembled at his valour; and as they had been lately amused with the news of his sickness and death, they would now view with religious terror his unexpected appearance at Thermopylæ, to assert the violated rights of the Delphian temple. Such were the hopes and motives on which Philip, at the head of a numerous army, directed his march²⁹ towards those celebrated straits.

This measure alarms the Athenians,

who sail to Thermopylæ, and guard the straits.

But the event shewed, that on this occasion he had made a false estimate of the superstition or timidity of the Greeks, and particularly had built too much on the patience and indolence of the Athenians. That people penetrated his designs, and determined to oppose them. Under the veil of religious zeal, they doubted not that he concealed the desire to invade and conquer their country; and, on the first intelligence of his expedition, their foresight and patriotism represented the Macedonians, Thessalians, and Thebans, pouring down like a destructive inundation, on Attica and Peloponnesus. With an alacrity and ardour, of which there was no recent example in their councils, they flew to arms, launched their fleet, sailed to Thermopylæ, and took possession of the straits.³⁰

²⁹ Diodor. l. xvi. p. 457.

³⁰ Demosthen. de Falsa Legat. sect. 29.

Never did Philip meet with a more cruel disappointment, than in being thus anticipated by a people whom he had so often deceived. He retired with deep regret, leaving the Phocian war to be carried on by the Thebans and their allies. Meanwhile, the Athenians placed a guard at Thermopylæ; and elated by the first instance of their success against the Macedonian, called an assembly to deliberate on measures proper to restrain his ambition.

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Philip retires in disappointment.

This assembly is rendered memorable by the first appearance of Demosthenes against Philip, whose measures from this moment he ceased not to watch and to counteract. Two years before, this illustrious orator, whose works have been more praised than read, and more read than understood, began, in the twenty-eighth year of his age, to appear on the theatre of public life. The Athenians were then involved in the sacred war; their northern possessions were continually insulted, plundered, or conquered by Philip; yet in this situation of affairs, the mercenary partisans of that prince, in order to divert the public attention from his too aspiring designs, affected to extend their views to Asia, and to be alarmed by the motions of Artaxerxes Ochus, who was preparing to reduce the rebels of Cyprus, Egypt, and Phœnicia. In every assembly of the people, the creatures of Philip dwelt, with exaggerated terror, on the naval and military preparations of the Great King, which they represented as certainly destined to revenge the recent injuries committed by the Athenian troops, under Chares, on the

Demosthenes's first appearance against Philip.

CHAP. coast of Asia. The trophies of Miltiades, Themistocles, and Cimon, were adorned with all the pomp of eloquence; and the Athenians were exhorted to imitate those memorable exploits of their ancestors in the Persian war, which shed a lustre on all the succeeding periods of their history.

XXXIV.
Senti-
ments of
the wisest
Athenians
respecting
this prince.

In this popular enthusiasm joined Isocrates the orator, together with the statesman and general Phocion, two men whose talents and virtues would have done honour to the most illustrious age of the republic. The unblemished integrity of Isocrates, the disinterested poverty of Phocion, afford sufficient proof that neither of these great men were corrupted by Macedonian gold. But they both perceived that the indolence and unsteadiness of Athens were incapable of contending with the unceasing activity of Philip, and both exhorted their countrymen to gain and cultivate the friendship of a prince, against whom they could not make war with any reasonable prospect of success.

Those of
Isocrates
in particu-
lar.

Isocrates, from the most accurate and extensive survey of the political history of Greece, discovered that a foreign war alone could heal the domestic dissensions which reigned in every quarter of that divided country; and, from a thorough knowledge of the inherent defects in the government of Thebes, Athens, and Sparta, he regarded Macedon as the state, and Philip as the general, best entitled, and best qualified, to assume the command of a military expedition into Asia, to revenge ancient wrongs, and to deliver the Grecian colonies from the actual oppression of Bar-

barians. On this important subject he addressed a discourse to Philip; he repeatedly insisted on the same topic in writings addressed to the Athenians; and it is obscurely related, that on one occasion he reconciled those hostile powers³¹, and engaged them to conquer in this extensive yet rational scheme of conquest.

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The sentiments and views of Demosthenes were equally different from those of Isocrates and Phocion on the one hand, and from those of the infamous hirelings of Philip on the other. None knew better than he did the corruption and degeneracy of his countrymen; but he hoped to rouse them from their lethargy; a design, arduous as it may seem, sometimes effected by his eloquence, the most powerful, glowing, and sublime, ever employed by man: and which, of all men, he had been at most pains to acquire and cultivate.³² His imagination was filled with the ancient glory of the republic; in the ardour of patriotism he forgot the moderation of philosophy; and while he sternly maintained the prerogatives and pretensions of his country, he would rather have seen Athens defeated at the head of her allies, than victorious under the standard of the Macedonians, or any standard but her own. With such sentiments and character, he was naturally a favourite of the people, and a warm partisan of popular government; while Phocion, like most men of sense and worth in that age, preferred a

The peculiar views of Demosthenes

³¹ See the life of Innocent, prefixed to my translation of his works.

³² Dionys. Halicarn. & Plut. de Demost.

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appear in
public ora-
tions.

moderate aristocracy; and Isocrates was inclined to regard a well-regulated monarchy as the best of all governments.³³

In his first speeches before the assembly, Demosthenes announced himself as the minister of the people at large, whom he exhorted to awaken from their indolence, and at length to assume the direction of their own affairs. They had been too long governed by the incapacity of a few ambitious men, to the great detriment and disgrace of the community. First an orator at the head of all, under him a general, abetted by three or four hundred obsequious partizans, availed themselves of the sloth and negligence of a people careless of every thing but pleasure, to domineer in the public councils, and to become masters of the state. From considerations of their present corruption and weakness, as well as of the designs and commotions of neighbouring powers, he advised them to forsake all distant and romantic schemes of ambition: and, instead of carrying their arms into remote countries, to prepare for repelling the attacks that might be made against their own dominions; he insisted earnestly on a better regulation of their finances, on the retrenching of many superfluous branches of expence, and especially on a more equitable repartition of public burdens, in proportion to the fortunes of individuals; which, though, the income of the state had dwindled to four hundred talents, were actually more considerable than at any former period. While the rich cheerfully paid

³³ See his Nicocles, Evagoras, &c.

their contributions, the poor must be willing to forego the burdensome gratuities which they derived from the treasury ; and all must be ready to take the field in person, that the public service might be no longer betrayed, or disgraced, by strangers and mercenaries.³⁴

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Subsequent events justified the opinions, and enforced the counsels of Demosthenes. The Athenians were delivered from their ill-grounded fears of Artaxerxes Ochus, when they beheld the preparations of that monarch directed against his rebellious subjects. The encroachments of Philip became continually more daring and more formidable ; and his recent attempts to seize the straits of Thermopylæ shewed the necessity of opposing him with re-united vigilance and vigour.

His first
Philippic.

In this juncture, so favourable to awakening the activity of Athens, Demosthenes mounted the rostrum³⁵ before any other orator, apologising for this forwardness in a man not yet thirty years of age, by observing, " That already the usual speakers had given their opinions on the subject of Philip ; and that, had *their* advices been useful and practicable, they must have precluded the necessity of any farther deliberation. First of all, Athenians ! you ought not to despair ; no ! not although your affairs seem indeed involved in equal confusion and danger. For the same circumstance which is the cause

³⁴ Vid. Oration. de Classibus, & de Ordinand. Republic.

³⁵ I have used that word, because adopted in our language to express the *Bema*, that is, the pulpit or gallery, appropriated to the speakers in the Athenian assembly.

C H A P. of your past misfortunes, ought to furnish the
XXXIV. source of your present hope. What is that?
 Your own negligence and sloth, not the power of
 your enemies, have disordered the state. Had
 your distress arisen, notwithstanding your utmost
 care to prevent it, there would then be little hope
 of relief; but since it is occasioned by your own
 misconduct, you need only repair your errors, in
 order to retrieve your affairs. Considering the
 weakness of Athens, thus despoiled of her domi-
 nions, and the strength of Philip, which has in-
 creased immoderately at our expence, should you
 think him a formidable enemy, you doubtless
 think aright. Yet reflect, Athenians! that there
 was a time when *we* possessed Pydna, Potidæa,
 Methoné, and all the surrounding territory; that
 the nations in that neighbourhood, now subject
 to Philip, were then independent, and preferred
 the alliance of Athens to that of Macedon. In
 the infancy of his fortune, had Philip reasoned
 timidly, as we do now, ‘How shall I, destitute
 of allies, attack the Athenians, whose garrisons
 command my frontier?’ he would not have en-
 gaged in those enterprises which have been
 crowned with such signal success, nor raised his
 kingdom to such an unexampled pitch of gran-
 deur. No, Athenians! he knew well, that towns
 and fortresses are but prizes of skill and ²⁸ valour

²⁸ Ἄλλ’ οἶδεν, ὡ ἀνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τέτο καλὸς ἄκαιρος, ὅτι τέντε μὲν
 ἐστὶ ἅπαντα τὰ χωρία ἀλλὰ τὸ πολέμου κείμενα ἐν μέσῳ. In ancient times
 the figure had more force as well as dignity; because, at the Olympic
 and other sacred games, the spectators were used to behold the
 prizes proposed to the victors, κείμενα ἐν μέσῳ, exposed in the middle
 of the field, to excite their emulation and ardour. See vol. i. c. 5.

proposed to the combatants, and belong of right to the conqueror; that the dominions of the absent are seized by those who take the field, and the possessions of the negligent and slothful become the rewards of vigilance and vigour. Guided by these maxims he has subdued and governs all; holding some communities by right of conquest, and others under the title of allies: for allies no prince nor state can want, who are not wanting to themselves. But should you, Athenians! imitate the example of Philip, and at length, rousing from your lethargy, apply seriously to your interest, you would speedily recover those advantages which your negligence only has lost. Favourable occasions will yet occur; for you must not imagine that Philip, like a god, holds his prosperity for ever fixed and immutable.³⁷ No, Athenians! there are who hate him, who fear him, who envy him, even among those seemingly the most devoted to his cause. These are universal passions, from which the allies of Macedon are not, surely, exempted. They have hitherto concealed them, finding no resource in you; but it depends on your councils to call them into action. When, therefore, O my countrymen! when will you exert your vigour? when roused by some event—when urged by some necessity—what can be more urgent than the present juncture? To freemen, the most necessary

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³⁷ The original is inimitable: μη γὰρ ὡς θεὸς νομίζῃς αἰετὴν τὰ παρὰ τὴν ἀνθρώπων πρᾶγματα αἰετὰ. Join the τὰ and the πρᾶγματα, the article and the substantive, and the charm will be dissolved.

C H A P. of all motives is the shame of misconduct. Or
 XXXIV. say, will it still be your sole business to saunter
 in the public place, inquiring after news? What
 can be more new, than that a Macedonian
 should conquer Athens, and enslave Greece? Is
 Philip dead? No, but in great danger. How
 are you concerned in these rumours? What
 matters it to you whether he is sick or dead,
 since, if you thus manage your affairs, your folly
 will soon raise up another Philip?"³⁸

Measures
 proposed
 by Demos-
 thenes for
 resisting
 Philip.

After this animated remonstrance, Demos-
 thenes proposes a plan of operations calculated
 chiefly for defence. The Athenians, he ob-
 serves, were not yet prepared to meet Philip in
 the field. They must begin by protecting Olyn-
 thus, and the Chersonesus, from his incursions.
 For this purpose, it was necessary to raise a body
 of two thousand men light-armed, and an ade-
 quate proportion of cavalry, which were to be
 transported, under a proper convoy (as Philip
 had his fleet), with all expedition to the isles of
 Lemnos, Thasos, and Sciathos, contiguous to the
 coast of Macedon. Conveniently posted in those
 islands, where they would enjoy necessaries in
 abundance, the Athenian troops might avail
 themselves of every favourable incident, to ap-
 pear at the first summons of their allies, and

³⁸ The sense indeed of that period, but neither its force nor its
 harmony, can be translated. Τεθνηκε Φίλιππος; ο μα δια! ἀλλ'
 ασθενεί τι δε ὑμῖν διαφέρει; καὶ γὰρ ἀνέτος τι πάθη, ταχέως ὑμῖς
 ἕτερον Φίλιππον ποιεῖτε, ἀνὰ περ ἔτιω προσέχετε τοῖς πράγμασι τῶν νῦν
 οὐδε γὰρ ἔτος παρὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ρωμὴν τοσούτου ἐπηξήται, ὅσον παρὰ τὴν
 ὑμετέραν ἀμελείαν.

either to repel the inroads of the Macedonians, or to harass the extended, and, in many parts, defenceless territory of that people. Meanwhile, preparations would be made at home for carrying on the war in due time, with more numerous forces, and with greater efficacy. Such moderate proposals prove that Demosthenes well understood the genius of his countrymen. He required, that only the fourth part of the troops should consist of Athenian citizens; and the immediate supplies were to amount only to ninety talents. He knew that higher demands would alarm their indolence and love of pleasure; and so fatally were they sunk in the idle amusements of the city, that it is probable the small armament proposed did not actually set sail; it is certain that no future preparations were made adequate to the public service.

The profound policy of Philip fostered the supine negligence of his enemies. For more than two years after his retreat from Thermopylæ, that crafty prince much confined himself to his dominions, and chiefly to his capital, anxious to dissipate the clamour occasioned by his too great precipitation to seize the gates of Greece. In that interval, he indeed made an expedition to chastise the rebellious spirit of the Thessalians. But the greatest part of his time was spent at Pella, and addicted to the arts of peace, which he judged with skill, and encouraged with munificence. That favourite city was adorned with temples, theatres, and porticoes. The most ingenious artists of Greece

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Philip affects to lay aside his ambition.

His occupation during a long residence at Pella. A. C. 350. & 349.

C H A P. were summoned by liberal rewards, to the court
XXXIV. of Macedon³⁰; and men of talents and genius⁴⁰,
 who were too often exposed to envy and persecution in the former country, were received with open arms, by a prince, who, amidst the tumult of war, assiduously cultivated the studies of literature and eloquence. In his domestic government, Philip administered justice with impartiality, listened with condescension to the complaints of his meanest subjects, and disdaining the ceremonious and forbidding pomp of tyranny, maintained an intercourse of visits and entertainments with his courtiers and generals.⁴¹

His vices; In a prince so respectably employed, it is difficult to conceive the odious and detestable vices with which Philip is upbraided by Demosthenes⁴²; yet the brief descriptions, occasionally sketched by the orator, are filled up by an ancient historian, who represents the infamies of the life of Philip in language well fitted to arraign the horrors of Nero or Heliogabalus. Could we believe the acrimony⁴³ of Theopompus of Chios, a scholar of Isocrates, who flourished in the age of Alexander, Philip sullied his great actions by the most enormous and detestable crimes. Alike avaricious and prodigal, the wealth which he had amassed by injustice

³⁰ Justin. l. viii. c. 3.

⁴⁰ Among other Greeks who lived at Philip's court were, Leosthenes the orator, Neoptolemus the poet, Aristodemus and Satyrus, celebrated players. Æschin. & Demosthen. passim.

⁴¹ Plut. in Apophth. & in Demosthen. & Alexand.

⁴² Vid. Demosthen. ex edit. Wolf. pp. 5. 8. 48. 66, &c.

⁴³ Corn. Nep. in Alcibiad:

and rapacity, he dissipated in the most flagitious gratifications, and in company with the meanest and most worthless of mankind. His companions were chosen promiscuously from Macedonians and Greeks, and especially from Thessalians, the most profligate of the Greeks, and were admitted to his familiarity and friendship in proportion to their proficiency in the most odious and unnatural abominations⁴⁴ that ever polluted the worst men in the most corrupt ages of the world. We must, doubtless, make allowances for the gall of a writer, noted to a proverb for

⁴⁴ The epithets given them by Theopompus are, βδελυροί, *abominabiles*; and λασαυροί; the last word is compounded of λα, *valde*, and ταυρος, *taurus*; and translated *inseignitur mentulatus*, which corresponds to the *enormitas membrorum* of the Augustan historians. The following description of the friends of Philip is too indecent for modern language: "Horum enim quidam jam viri barbani indentidem radebant, & vellebantur: alii vero barbati citra pudorem vicissim se impudicabant, stupris intercatibus se flagitantes; regi vero duo vel tres circumducebantur qui paterentur muliebria, & eandem operam navarent alios subagitantes. Quamobrem illos jure aliquis non amicos regis, sed amicas esse credidisset, nec milites sed prostibula nuncupasset, ingenio quidem & natura sanguinarios, moribus autem virilia scorta," &c. This passage is quoted from the forty-ninth book of Theopompus. In his twenty-sixth book he speaks to the same purpose: "Philippum cum Thessalos intemperantes esse, ac lascivie petulantisque vitæ prospiceret, eorum conventus ac contubernia instituisse; iisque uti placeret modis omnibus fuisse conatum, cum illis saltasse, commissatum fuisse, cuivis libidini se ac nequitiae tradidisse." A mistaken passage of Diodorus has made some learned men doubt the authenticity of these descriptions. Diodorus (l. xvi. sect. 3.) says, that Theopompus γεγραφεναὶ οκτὼ βιβλῆς πρὸς τοῖς πενήκοντα, εἰς ὧν πεντε διαφωνοῦσι; "had written the history of Philip in fifty-eight books, five of which differ in style from the rest." Were we therefore to suppose the five last books spurious (for that is the inference which has been drawn), the observations of Diodorus would not at all affect the passages above cited.

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severity. Yet there is sufficient collateral evidence, that Philip's strong propensity to low wit, obscenity, and drunkenness, rendered him a prey to buffoons, and parasites, and flatterers, and all the worthless retinue of intemperance and folly. These disgraceful associates of the prince, formed, in time of war, a regiment apart, of about eight eight hundred men, whose gradual waste was continually recruited by new members, who either were, or soon became worthy of the old; for, as we shall soon have occasion to relate, the whole band were alike cowardly and profligate.

and policy.

But in whatever manner Philip employed his private hours, he at no time lost sight of those great principles of policy which regulated his public administration. Under pretence of wanting money to supply the expence of his buildings, and other public works, he employed an expedient which is well known in latter times, and which has been carried to such excess as threatens the safety of those governments which it was intended to uphold. The letting loose of the Delphic treasures had diffused near a million sterling over Greece.⁴⁵ The unsettled state of that country rendered those who had acquired

⁴⁵ The sacred war lasted ten years, and cost the Phocians ten thousand talents, near two millions; it had already lasted five years, and may be supposed to have cost near the half of that sum. Diodor. l. xvi. p. 453. He says, that the gold and silver dedications (which were coined into money), *ὑπερβαλλον τα μυρια ταλαντα*, "exceeded ten thousand talents;" a prodigious sum (considering the relative value of money in those days), of which the sudden diffusion could not fail to produce most important consequences.

wealth very uncertain of enjoying it. With the rich and avaricious, Philip employed proper agents to take up * money at high interest, which procured him two advantages of a very important kind, the attaching to his government and person a numerous and powerful band of creditors; and the enabling him to pay, under the title of debts, and therefore without suspicion, the various pensions and gratuities by which he maintained his influence among the orators and leading men in the several republics.

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* Justin. viii. 5.

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Negligence and Licentiousness of the Athenians. — Philip's Intrigues in Eubœa. — Phocion defeats the Macedonians and Eubœans. — Philip invades the Olynthian Territory. — Demosthenes's Orations in favour of the Olynthians. — Expedition of Chares. — Philip takes Olynthus. — Celebrates the Festival of the Muses at Dium. — Commits naval Depredations on Attica. — His Embassy to Athens. — The Athenian Embassy to Philip. — Character of the Ambassadors. — Their Conference with the King. — Differently reported to the Senate and Assembly. — Philip's Conquests in Thrace. — The Phocian War. — Negotiations. — Philip's Intrigues. — Decree of the Amphictyons against Phocis. — Executed by Philip. — Macedon acknowledged the principal Member of the Amphictyonic Council.

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Negli-
gence and
licentious-
ness of the
Athenians.
Olymp.
cvii. 4.

A. C. 349.

THE Athenians, deceived by the inactivity of the King of Macedon, indulged themselves, without reserve, in their favourite amusements. Their confederates, the Phocians, were abandoned; the war with Philip, in which they might well have considered themselves as principals, was neglected. Magistrates and people seemed solely attentive to regulate public festivals and processions, and to ascertain the disputed merits of dramatic poets and performers. The fund originally intended for the exigencies of war, had already been appropriated to the theatre; and a law was now enacted, on the motion of

Eubulus, an artful flatterer of the multitude, rendering it a capital crime to propose any change in this unexampled and most whimsical destination. It was in vain for Demosthenes to resist the popular torrent. He was opposed and overwhelmed by Eubulus and Demades, the latter of whom, with talents that might have adorned his country, condescended to sell its interests to the public enemy.

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Born in the lowest condition of life, Demades retained the vices of his birth; and always discovered that sordid spirit, and weltered in those brutal excesses, which betray the want of early culture. Yet the acuteness of his apprehension, the strength of his reason and memory, and above all, the bold and copious flow of his unpremeditated eloquence, in which he was allowed to excel even Demosthenes¹ himself, raised him to a conspicuous rank in the assembly; and it being his business, as the hireling of Philip, to sail along with the stream of popular frenzy, which the patriotism of his rival endeavoured to struggle with and to stem, he enjoyed a free and ample scope for exercising his abilities.

Justified
by De-
mades.

The people of Athens triumphed in the victory of perfidious demagogues over the wisest and best of their fellow-citizens, or rather over the laws and constitution of their country, when Philip began to play those batteries which he had patiently raised with such skill and secrecy. The island of Eubœa, which he called the fetters of Greece, was the first object of his attack.

Philip's
intrigues
in Eubœa.
Olymp.
cvii. 4.
A. C. 349.

¹ Plutarch. in Demosthen.

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Since the expulsion of the Thebans, of which we have formerly taken notice, the Athenians had preserved their interest in the island, where they maintained a small body of troops. The different cities, however, enjoyed the independent government of their own laws; they appointed their own magistrates; they sometimes made war against each other; and separately assumed the prerogatives of free and sovereign states, while they all collectively acknowledged their dependence on Athens. Such political arrangements made room for the intrigues of Philip. He fomented their civil discord; gained partisans in each city; and at length, under colour of protecting his allies, landed several Macedonian battalions in the island.*

Danger to which the Athenian interest in that island was exposed;

Matters were soon disposed to his wish. The Macedonians were allowed to occupy the most advantageous posts. The Athenian party exclaimed and threatened; but Plutarch, the leader of that party, was gained to the interest of Philip, and demanded auxiliaries from Athens, only to betray them into the hands of their enemies. Demosthenes, who alone penetrated this dark scheme of villany, entreated and conjured his countrymen to put no confidence in Plutarch. But he was single in his opinion. Those in the confidence of Philip were true to their master, and therefore urged the expedition. The friends of their country were eager to save the isle of Eubœa, and the capricious multitude,

* Æschin. in Ctesiphont. & Demosth. de falsa Legation. & de Pace.

ever in extremes, rushed with as much impetuosity to an enterprise intended for their ruin, as they had long shewn backwardness to engage in every other.³ The promptitude and vigour of their preparations much exceeded the expectation, and even alarmed the fears, of the Macedonian faction. But the partizans of Philip had gone too far to retreat; nor could they foresee the consequences that happened, so contrary to their hopes. The Athenians, in fact, obtained a decisive victory, not by the strength of their arms, which was inferior to the enemy's, but through the wise choice of a general.

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The consummate prudence of Phocion, who, on his arrival in Eubœa, found things in a worse state than had been represented, risked no chance of defeat, and lost no opportunity of advantage.⁴ Having chosen a favourable post, which was on all sides surrounded by broken and uneven ground, he despised the clamours of his men and the insults of the enemy. The treacherous Plutarch was quickly defeated in a mock battle, in which he fell back on the Athenian cavalry, who fled in disorder to the camp of Phocion. The Eubœans and Macedonians pursued with a rash and intemperate ardour; and, elated with victory, or confident in their superior numbers, prepared to assail the camp. The general, meanwhile, performed a sacrifice, which he studiously prolonged, either from religion or policy, until he beheld the disorder of the assailants embarrassed by the unequal ground, and

from
which they
are extir-
pated by
Phocion.

³ Demosth. de Pace.

⁴ Plutarch, in Phocion.

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He defeats
the Mace-
donians
and Eubœans.

by their own rashness. He then commanded his men to prepare for action, and sallying rapidly from his entrenchments, increased the confusion of the enemy, who were repelled with great slaughter towards the plain which they had at first occupied. The activity of Cleophanes, who had rallied and formed the Athenian cavalry, rendered the victory complete. The remains of the vanquished took refuge in the fortress of Zeratra, in the northern corner of the island, which, being attacked, made a feeble⁵ resistance. The garrison surrendered; but Phocion restored all the Eubœans to liberty, lest the people of Athens, inflamed by their popular leaders, might treat them with that cruelty, which on a similar occasion, they had inflicted on the rebellious citizens of Mitylené.⁶ Having spent a few weeks in settling the affairs of the island, he returned in triumph to Athens, his ships drawn up in line of battle, their stems, crowned with garlands, and the rowers keeping time to the sound of martial music. His fellow-citizens received him with acclamations of joy; but their imprudence did not allow them to reap the fruits of his success. Molossus, an obscure stranger, was appointed, by cabal, to command the troops left in the island; and Philip, having renewed his intrigues, carried them on with the same dexterity, and met with far better success.⁷

It is worthy of attention, that Demosthenes followed the standard of Phocion to Eubœa,

⁵ Plut. in Phocion.

⁶ See above, vol. ii. c. xvi. pp. 243, et seq.

⁷ Plut. in Phocion.

though he had strongly disapproved the expedition. Both he and his rival Æschines, of whom we shall soon have occasion to speak more fully, served in the cavalry. Demosthenes was reproached with being the first who deserted his rank, and among the last who returned to the charge. Æschines behaved with distinguished gallantry, and had the honour of being appointed by Phocion to carry home the first intelligence of the victory.⁸

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Opposite
behaviour
of Demos-
thenes and
Æschines
in the bat-
tle.

Philip's disappointment in Eubœa only stimulated his activity. His toils were spread so widely all around him, that when one part failed he could catch his prey in another. The Olynthians, against whom he seemed to have long forgotten his resentment, were astonished to observe that several of their citizens grew rich and great in a manner equally sudden and unaccountable; and that they enlarged their possessions, built stately palaces, and displayed a degree of magnificence and grandeur hitherto unknown in their frugal republic. The unexpected invasion of Philip revealed the mystery. A considerable party had grown wealthy by betraying the secrets, exposing the weakness, and fostering the ill-timed security of their country.⁹ Their influence at home had recommended them to Philip, and the wages of their iniquity had increased that influence. It would not probably have been difficult to prove their treason, but it seemed dangerous to punish it; and the Olynthians were more immediately concerned to repel the open

Philip in-
vades the
territory of
Olynthus.
Olymp.
cvii. 4.
A. C. 349.

⁸ Æschin. de falsa Legatione, & Demosth. in Midiam.

⁹ Demosth. Olynth. passim.

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The Olyn-
thians im-
plore the
aid of
Athens.

ravages of their territory. In this emergency, they trusted not to their domestic forces of ten thousand foot and one thousand horse¹⁰, but sent an embassy to Athens, inveighing in the strongest terms against Philip, who had first courted, then deceived, and at last invaded and attacked them ; and craving assistance from the Athenians, in consequence of the alliance formerly concluded between the two republics, to defeat the designs of a tyrant equally daring and perfidious.

State of
parties in
Athens.

Had the people of Athens heartily undertaken the cause of Olynthus, Philip would have been exposed a second time to the danger which he had eluded with so much address in the beginning of his reign. Thebes was employed and exhausted in the Phocian war ; the grandeur of Sparta had decayed as much as her principles had degenerated ; the inferior states extended not their views of policy beyond their respective districts. But the Athenians, recently successful in Eubœa, and reinforced by the strength and resentment of such a republic as Olynthus, might have still rendered themselves formidable to the public enemy, especially as, at this juncture, the rebellious humours of the Thessalians broke out afresh, and led them capriciously to oppose, with as much eagerness as they had often helped to promote, the interest of Macedon. But to compensate these unpromising circumstances, Philip had many strenuous abettors of his power within the walls of Athens and Olynthus ; and his garrisons actually commanded the principal posts

¹⁰ Demosth. dealsa Legatione.

in Thessaly. Above all, the indolence and vices of his enemies were most favourable to his cause. The late success in Eubœa, which should have animated a brave and generous people to new exertions and dangers, only replunged the Athenians into a slothful security. While they enjoyed their theatrical entertainments, their shows and festivals, and all the ease and luxury of a city-life, they were little inclined to engage in any enterprise that might disturb the tranquil course of their pleasures. In this disposition they were encouraged by their perfidious demagogues, who strongly exhorted them to beware of involving themselves in the danger of Olynthus, or of provoking the resentment of a prince whose power they were unable to resist. The orator Demades particularly distinguished his zeal in the Macedonian interest; advising an absolute and total rejection of the demands of the Olynthian ambassadors.

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Demosthenes at length arose, and, as the design of calling the assembly had been already explained, entered immediately on the question under deliberation. "On" many occasions, Athenians! have the gods declared their favour to this state, but never more manifestly than in

First oration of Demosthenes in favour of the Olynthians.

"I mean not a translation of Demosthenes. The inserting his speeches entire would destroy the humble uniformity of this historical work, with the design of which it would be inconsistent to transcribe what the orator found it necessary to say, repeat, and enforce so often. Besides, Demosthenes is one of the few Greek writers that has been translated, as the late Mr. Harris says in his *Philological Enquiries*, by competent persons: Drs. Leland and Francis, in English: M. Tourreil and the Abbé Auger, in French; and the Abbé Cesarotti, in Italian.

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the present juncture. That enemies should be raised to Philip, on the confines of his territory, enemies not contemptible in power, and, which is more important, so determined on the war, that they regard every accommodation in Macedon, first as insidious, next as the destruction of their country, can be ascribed to nothing less than the bountiful interposition of Heaven. With every thing else on our side, let us not be wanting to ourselves; let us not be reproached with the unspeakable infamy of throwing away, not only those cities and territories which we inherited from our ancestors, but those occasions and alliances offered us by fortune and the gods. To insist on the power and greatness of Philip belongs not to the present subject. He has become great through your supine neglect, and the perfidy of traitors whom it becomes you to punish. Such topics are not honourable for you: I wave them as superfluous, having matter more material to urge. To call the King of Macedon perjured and perfidious, without proving my assertions, would be the language of insult and reproach. But his own actions, and not my resentment, shall name him; and of these, I think it necessary to speak for two reasons; first, that he may appear, what he really is, a wicked man; and, secondly, that the weak minds who are intimidated by his power and resources, may perceive that the artifices to which he owes them, are now all exhausted, and that his ruin is at hand. As for myself, Athenians! I should not only fear but admire Philip, had he attained his present height of grandeur by honourable and

equitable means. But, after the most serious examination, I find, that at first he seduced our simplicity by the flattering promise of Amphipolis; that he next surprised the friendship of Olynthus by the deceitful gift of Potidæa; that, lastly, he enslaved the Thessalians, under the specious pretence of delivering them from tyrants. In one word, with what community hath he treated, which hath not experienced his fraud? Which of his confederates hath he not shamelessly betrayed? Can it be expected, then, that those who promoted his elevation, because they thought him *their* friend, will continue to support it, when they find him a friend to his own interest alone? Impossible! When confederacies are formed on the principles of common advantage and affection, each member shares the toils with alacrity; all persevere: such confederacies endure. But when worthlessness and lawless ambition have raised a single man, the slightest accident overthrows the unstable edifice of his grandeur. It is not, no! Athenians! it is not possible to found a lasting power on treachery, fraud, and perjury. These may succeed for a while: but time reveals their weakness. For, as in a house, a ship, and in structures of every kind, the foundation and lower parts should be firm and solid, so the grounds and principles of action should be just and true. But such qualities belong not to the actions of Philip.¹²

¹² The important, though trite proverb, that in public, as well as in private transactions, "honesty is the best policy," was never

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“ I am of opinion, then, that, fearless of consequences, you ought to assist Olynthus with the utmost celerity and vigour, and to dispatch an embassy to the Thessalians, to inflame their hostility. But take care, Athenians! that your ardour evaporate not in mere resolutions and decrees. Be ready to pay your contributions; prepare to take the field; show yourselves in earnest, and you will soon discover not only the hollow faith of the allies of Philip, but the internal and concealed infirmity of Macedon itself. That kingdom has emerged from obscurity amidst the contests of neighbouring states, during which the smallest weight, put into either scale, is sufficient to incline the balance. But, in itself, Macedon is inconsiderable and weak, and its real weakness is increased by the splendid but ruinous expeditions of Philip. For the King and his subjects are actuated by very different sentiments. Domineered

expressed perhaps with such dignity, as in the following words of Demosthenes; *ὅταν μὲν γὰρ ὅπ' εὐνοίας τὰ πρᾶγματα-συνῇ, καὶ πασι τὰντα συμφορῇ τοῖς μετεχέσσι τῷ πολέμῳ, καὶ συμπονεῖ, καὶ φέρει τὰς συμφοράς, καὶ μένειν ἐθέλεισι οἱ ἄνθρωποι· ὅταν δὲ ἐκ πλεονεξίας τις ὥσπερ ἄτος, ἰσχυρῇ, ἢ πρῶτε προφασίς, καὶ μικρὸν πταίσμα ἅπαντα ἀνεχάτισε, καὶ διαλύσεν· οὗ γὰρ ἐστὶ, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀδικῶντα καὶ ἐπιорκῶντα καὶ ψευδομένον, δύναμιν βεβαίαν κτήσασθαι· ἀλλὰ τὰ τοιαῦτα εἰς μὲν ἅπαξ, καὶ βραχὺν χρόνον, αὐτεχέ· καὶ σφοδρὰ γὰρ ᾤθησεν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν, ὡς τυχρὸν τῷ χρόνῳ δὲ φανταί, καὶ περὶ αὐτὰ καταρρεῖ· ὥσπερ γὰρ οἰκίας, οἰμαι, καὶ πλοῖα, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων τὰ κατὰθεν ἰσχυροτάτα εἶναι δεῖ, ὅτ' καὶ τῶν πρῶτων τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ὑποθέσεις ἀληθεῖς καὶ δίκαιας εἶναι προσήκει· τοιοῦτο δὲ ἐκ ἐνὶ νῦν ἐν τοῖς πεπράγμενοις Φιλίππῳ. Demosthen. Olynth. i. or Olynth. ii. p. 7th. in the common but incorrect edition of Wolfius.*

by ambition, he disregards ease and safety ; but his subjects, who individually have little share in the glory of his conquests, are indignant, that, for the sake of one man, they should be harassed by continual warfare, and withdrawn from those occupations and pursuits which afford the comforts and happiness of private life. On the great body of his people, Philip, therefore, can have no reliance ; nor, whatever may be said of their valour and discipline, can he depend more on his mercenaries. For I am informed, by a man of undoubted veracity, who has just arrived from Macedon, that none of Philip's guards, even those whom he treats with the affectionate, but deceitful names of companions, and fellow-soldiers, can merit his esteem, without incurring his hatred and persecution. Such is the intolerable jealousy, such the malignant envy, which crowns the other odious vices of this monster, who, defying every sentiment of virtue and decency, drives from his presence all who shudder, all who are disgusted, at the most unnatural enormities ; and whose court is continually crowded by buffoons, parasites, obscene poets and drunkards ; wretches who, when drunk, will dance, but such dances¹³ as modesty dare not name. Slight and trivial as these matters may to some appear, they exhibit the worthlessness of Philip, and announce the infelicity which

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¹³ The *κορδαλισμος*. Demosth. p. 8. Vid. Schol. ad Aristoph. in Nubib. From the description above given of Athenian manners, it appears that Demosthenes's delicacy was merely complimentary.

CHAP. awaits him. The dangerous defects of his character are hid in the blaze of prosperity ¹⁴; but when misfortune happens, his native deformity will appear. For it is easy to prove that, as in the bodily frame, men, during the season of health, are insensible of what is weak and disordered in their constitutions, which imperfections are immediately felt on the first approach of sickness; so the glory of foreign conquest conceals the vices and defects of republics and monarchies: but let calamity happen, let the war be carried to their frontiers, and those hitherto latent evils immediately become manifest.

“If there is a man among you, Athenians! who thinks that Philip is a formidable enemy, because he is fortunate, I agree with that man. Fortune ¹⁵ has a mighty influence, or rather Fortune alone domineers in human affairs. Yet could you be persuaded to do but the smallest part of your duty, I would greatly prefer your fortune to Philip’s; for *you*, surely, have better reason to trust in the assistance of Heaven. But we remain, I think, inactive, hesitating, delaying, and deliberating, while our enemy takes the field, braving seasons and dangers, and neglecting no opportunity of advantage. And if the indolent and careless are abandoned by their best friends, can we expect that the gods, however favourable, should assist us, if we will not help ourselves?”

¹⁴ *Secundæ res mirè sunt vitii obtentui.* Sallust.

¹⁵ From what is said below, it appears that, by Fortune, Demosthenes here means the dispensations of Providence; and by good Fortune, the favour of Heaven.

The people of Athens, animated to their duty, C H A P.
XXXV. on the one hand, by Demosthenes, and seduced, on the other, by the hirelings of ¹⁶ Philip and their own deceitful passions, imprudently steered a middle course, which, in public affairs, is often the most dangerous. Convinced that the preservation of Olynthus was the best safeguard of Attica, yet unwilling to tear themselves from their beloved pleasures, they determined to send Chares, with a fleet and two thousand mercenaries, to the assistance of their allies. This commander, who was the idol of the multitude, but the disgrace of his country and of his profession ¹⁷, showed no solicitude to protect the dependencies of Olynthus, which successively submitted to the Macedonian arms. To gratify the rapacity of his troops, he made a descent on the fertile coast of Pallené, where, falling in with eight hundred men commanded by Audæus, called the friends of Philip, he obtained over those contemptible cowards an easy and ludicrous victory, which served only to amuse the comic poets of the times. Having gained this advantage, Chares became unwilling to try his fortune in any severer conflict; and disdaining, as he affected, to follow the motions of Philip, returned home, and celebrated his triumph over the vain, boastful, and voluptuous Audæus ¹⁸; not, however, with the spoils of the

The extravagant expedition of Chares.

¹⁶ Philochorus in Dionys. Epist. ad Ammonium.

¹⁷ Timotheus said of him, "that he was fitter to carry the baggage, than to command an army." Plut. in Apophth.

¹⁸ Among his contemporaries, he was nicknamed αλεκτρον, the cock. Athenæus, l. xii. p. 534.

C H A P. vanquished, but with the sum of sixty talents,
XXXV. which he had extorted from the Phocians, who
 were actually in alliance with Athens.¹⁹

Philip
 besieges
 Olynthus.

The thoughtless multitude, who judged of the expedition of Chares by the expensive pomp with which he entertained them at his return, talked extravagantly of invading Macedon, and chastising the insolence of Philip²⁰; when a second embassy arrived from Olynthus. The inhabitants of this place had been shut up within their walls; they had lost Stagyra, Miciberna, Toroné, cities of considerable strength, besides many inferior towns, which, on the first appearance of Philip, were forward to receive his bribes, and to open their gates²¹: and this shameful venality, in places well provided for defence, made the King of Macedon observe to his generals, that he would thenceforth consider no fortress as impregnable, which could admit a male laden with money.²² Dejected by continual losses, the Olynthians turned their thoughts to negotiation, that they might at least amuse the invader till the arrival of the Athenian succours. Philip penetrated their design, and dexterously turned their arts against them; affecting to lend an ear to their proposals, but meanwhile continuing

¹⁹ Athenæus, l. xii. p. 534.

²⁰ Demosthen. Olynth. ii.

²¹ Diodorus, l. xvi. p. 450.

²² Plutarch. in Phocion. Diodorus, p. 451, relates the matter somewhat differently. But he acknowledges that the King of Macedon boasted that he had augmented his dominions more by gold than by arms. Diodorus, p. 450.

his approaches, till, having got within forty stadia of their walls, he declared that of two things one was necessary, either *they* must leave Olynthus, or *he* Macedon.²³ This explicit declaration from an enemy, who often flattered to destroy, but who might always be believed when he threatened, convinced the Olynthians of what they had long suspected, that their utter ruin was at hand. They endeavoured to retard the fatal moment by a vigorous sally, in which their cavalry, commanded by Apollonides, particularly signalised their valour.²⁴ But they were repulsed by superior numbers, and obliged to take refuge in the city.

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In this posture of affairs, the ambassadors sailed for Athens; and having arrived there, found, to their utter astonishment, the multitude still enjoying the imaginary triumph of Chares. This commander, who chiefly owed his credit to the ascendant of superficial qualities over the undiscerning folly of the people, was a warm and active partisan of democracy, and as such viewed, even by Demosthenes, with too partial eyes. The orator, besides, well knew that the irregular, useless, or destructive operations of the Athenian arms, ought not always to be charged on the misconduct of the general. The troops were always ill paid; sometimes not paid at all; and therefore disobedient and mutinous. Instead of submitting to controul, they often controuled their leaders; their resolutions were prompt and ungovernable; when they could not persuade, they threatened;

Second
embassy to
Athens.

²³ Demosthen. Philipp. iii.

²⁴ Id. *ibid.*

CHAP. and compelled even prudent commanders to
XXXV. measures wild, ruinous, and dishonourable.

The demands of the Olynthians again enforced by Demosthenes.

Demosthenes, therefore, who again undertook to second the demands of Olynthus, waved all accusation against particular persons. After endeavouring to repress the vain confidence of his countrymen, which had been excited by the supposed advantages of Chares, and the venal breath of corrupt orators, he represents the real and imminent danger of their allies, which he persuades them to regard as their own. The crisis was now arrived; and if they neglected the present opportunity of fulfilling their engagements to Olynthus, they must soon be obliged to meet Philip in Attica. He reminds them of the various occasions, which they had already lost, of repelling this rapacious tyrant, this hostile Barbarian, this mixture of perfidy and violence, for whom he cannot find any name sufficiently reproachful. "But some perhaps will say, it is the business of a public speaker to advise, not to upbraid. We wish to assist the Olynthians, and we will assist them; but inform us how our aid may be rendered most effectual. Appoint magistrates, Athenians! for the inspection of your laws; not to enact new laws; they are already too numerous; but to repeal those whose ill effects you daily experience; I mean the laws respecting the theatrical funds (thus openly I declare it), and some about the soldiery. By the first, the soldier's pay is consumed, as theatrical expences, by the useless and inactive; the second screen from justice the coward who declines the service, and damp the ardour of

- the brave who would be ready to take the field. Till these laws be repealed, expect not that any man will urge your true interest, since his honest zeal must be repaid with destruction." After insisting still farther on this delicate and dangerous subject, Demosthenes probably observed displeasure and resentment in the countenance of his hearers, and then (as his custom was) artfully turning the discourse: "I speak thus, not with a view to give offence, for I am not so mad as wantonly to offend; but because I think it the duty of a public speaker to prefer your interest to your pleasure. Such were the maxims and conduct (you yourselves know it) of those ancient and illustrious orators whom all unite to praise but none venture to imitate; of the virtuous Aristides, of Nicias, of Pericles, and of him whose name ²⁵ I bear. But since ministers have appeared who dare not address the assembly, till they have first *consulted* you about the *counsels* which they ought to give, who ask, as it were, What shall I propose? What shall I advise? In what, Athenians! can I do you pleasure? The sweet draught of flattery has concealed a deadly poison; our strength is enervated, our glory tarnished, the public beggared and disgraced, while those smooth-tongued declaimers have acquired opulence and splendor: ²⁶ Consider, Athenians!

²⁵ Demosthenes, who acted such a distinguished part in the Peloponnesian war. See above, vol. ii. c. xvii. p. 269, et seq.

²⁶ It is worthy of observation, that, in this discourse throughout, Demosthenes insists that the people at large enjoyed much less authority in his time than in the days of Aristides, &c. All depends, he

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how briefly the conduct of your ancestors may be contrasted with your own ; for, if you would pursue the road to glory and happiness, you need not foreign instructors : it will be sufficient to follow the example of those from whom you are descended. The Athenians of former times, whom the orators never courted, never treated with that indulgence to which you are accustomed, held, with general consent, the sovereignty of Greece for sixty-five years²⁷ ; deposited above ten thousand talents in the citadel ; kept the King of Macedon in that submission which a Barbarian owes to Greece ; erected many and illustrious trophies of the exploits which their own valour had achieved by land and sea ; in a word, are the only people on record whose glorious actions transcend the power of envy. Thus great in war, their civil administration was not less admirable. The stately edifices which they raised, the temples which they adorned, the dedications which they offered to the gods, will never be excelled in magnificence ; but in private life, so exemplary was their moderation, and so scrupu-

asserts, on the popular orators and magistrates, " *οἱ πολιτευόμενοι*." Yet it is well known that since the age of Aristides, the government had become more democratical. Demosthenes himself allows this : the orators, he says, dare not address the people now with that freedom which they used formerly. — This apparent contradiction shows the nature and tendency of that species of popular government which the Greeks called ochlogarchy. — The populace are the slaves of their demagogues, and the demagogues of the populace. Instead of liberty, there is an interchange of servitude.

²⁷ Demosthenes's chronology here is not accurate. See above, vol. iii. p. 86. in the note.

lous their adherence to the frugal maxims of antiquity, that if any of you has examined the house of Aristides or Miltiades, he will find them undistinguished above the contiguous buildings by superior elegance or grandeur. The ambition of those illustrious statesmen was to exalt the republic, not to enrich themselves²⁸; and this just moderation, accompanied by piety and patriotism, raised their country (and no wonder!) to the height of prosperity. Such was the condition of Athens under those sincere and honest men. Is it the same, or nearly the same, under the indulgence of our present ministers? I wave other topics on which I might enlarge. But you behold in what solitude we are left. The Lacedæmonians lost; the Thebans harassed by war; no other republic worthy of aspiring to the sovereignty. Yet, at this period, when we might not only have defended our own possessions, but have become the arbiters and umpires of all around us, we have been stripped of whole provinces; we have expended fifteen hundred talents fruitlessly; we have lost, in time of peace, the alliances and advantages which the arms of our ancestors had acquired; and we have raised up and armed a most formidable enemy against ourselves. If not, let the man stand forth who can show from what other cause Philip has derived his greatness. But the miserable condition of our foreign affairs, is, perhaps, compensated by the

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²⁷ Privatus illis census erat brevis,

Commune magnum.

Hœ. ode xv. l. ii.

• C H A P. happiness of our domestic state, and the splendid
 XXXV. improvements of our capital. Roads repaired,
 walls whitened, *fountains*, and *follies* ! ²⁰ And the
 ministers who have procured us those magnificent
 advantages, pass from poverty and meanness to
 opulence and dignity ; build private palaces which
 insult the edifices of the public ; grow greater as
 their country becomes less, and gradually rise on
 its ruins. What is the source of this disorder ?
 It is, Athenians ! that formerly the people did
 their duty, took the field in person, and thus kept
 the magistrates in awe.”

Licen-
 tiousness
 of the
 Athenian
 troops
 under the
 profligate
 Charide-
 mus.

The assembly remained insensible to the mo-
 tives of interest and honour. Instead of taking
 the field in person, they sent to Olynthus a body
 of foreign infantry, amounting to four thousand,
 with an hundred and fifty horse, under the com-
 mand of Charidemus. This unworthy general,
 who was the slave of his mercenaries, and of his
 own detestable passions, gratified the rapacity of
 his troops by ravaging the Macedonian province
 of Bottiæa on the confines of Chalcis. At length,
 however, he threw his forces into Olynthus ; and
 the besieged, encouraged by this reinforcement,
 hazarded another sally, in which they were de-
 feated and repelled with considerable loss. The
 Athenian mercenaries were rendered every day
 more contemptible by their cowardice, and more
 dangerous by their licentiousness. The beastly
 Charidemus had neither inclination nor ability

²⁰ Πῶγαι καὶ ληραι. Demosthenes disdained not such a gingle of
 words when it presented itself naturally ; but as it rarely occurs in
 his works, it is plain that he never sought for it.

to restrain their irregularities. According to his custom, he drank, at every meal, to a scandalous excess; his brutality insulted the women of Olynthus; and such was his impudent and abandoned profligacy, that he demanded of the senate, as a reward for his pretended services, a beautiful Macedonian youth, then captive in the city.³⁰

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In this state of affairs, the Olynthians, a third time, applied to Athens. On the present occasion, Æschines, who afterwards became such an active partisan of the Macedonian interest, particularly distinguished his zeal and his patriotism. The speech of Demosthenes, to the same purpose, is still on record. He exhorts and conjures his countrymen to send to Olynthus an army of citizens, and at the same time to make a diversion, by invading the Macedonian coast. Unless both be done, the indefatigable industry of Philip would render either ineffectual. "Have you ever considered the rapid progress of this prince? He began by taking Amphipolis, then Pydna, Potidæa, and Methoné; from thence he poured his troops into Thessaly, and became master of Phæræ, Pegasæ, and Magnesia. Then turning towards Thrace, he over-ran provinces, conquered and divided kingdoms, and seated himself on the trophies of fallen crowns and broken sceptres. I speak not of his expedition against the Pæonians and Illyrians, into Epirus, —and where has not ambition conducted his arms? But why this long enumeration? —

The cause of the Olynthians vigorously supported by Æschines and Demosthenes.

³⁰ Theopomp. apud Athen. l. x. p. 436.

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To prove the important opportunities which your negligence has lost, and the unextinguishable ardour of an adversary, whose successive conquests continually bring him nearer to your walls. For is there a man in this assembly, who perceives not that the sufferings of the Olynthians are the fore-runners of our own? The present conjuncture calls you, as with a loud voice, at length to rouse from your lethargy, and to profit by this last testimony of the bountiful protection of the gods. Another is not to be expected, after the many which you have despised and forgotten; I say *forgotten*; for favourable conjunctures, like riches, and other gifts of Heaven, are remembered with gratitude, only by those who have understanding to preserve and to enjoy them. The spendthrift dissipates his thankfulness with his wealth³¹; and the same imprudent folly renders him both miserable and ungrateful." After these bold expostulations, or rather reproaches, he encourages them to relieve Olynthus, by observing, that Philip would never have undertaken the siege of that place, if he had expected such a vigorous resistance; especially at a time when his allies were ready to revolt; when the Thessalians wished to throw off the yoke; when the Thracians and Illyrians hoped to recover their freedom. Thus the power of Philip, lately represented as so formidable, is by no means

³¹ The observation is uncommon, but just; *ἀλλὰ οἶμαι, παρομοίον ἐστὶ, ὅπου καὶ περὶ τῶν χρημάτων κτησέως· ἂν μὲν γὰρ, ὅσα αὐτὶς λαβὴ καὶ σωσθ, μεγάλην ἔχει τῇ τύχῃ τὴν χάριν· ἂν δὲ ἀναλώσας λαβὴ, συνανέλῃ καὶ τὸ μνησθῆναι τῇ τύχῃ τὴν χάριν.* Demost. Olynth. iii. Olynth. i. p. 2. ex edit. Wolf.

real and solid ; one vigorous effort might yet overwhelm him ; and the passion of hope, as well as that of fear, is rendered subservient to the purpose of the orator. He again touches on the article of supplies ; but with such caution as shows that his former more explicit observations had been heard impatiently. “ As to money for the expenses of the war (for without money nothing can be done), you possess, Athenians ! a military fund exceeding that of any other people. But you have unfortunately withdrawn it from its original destination, to which, were it restored, there could not be any necessity for extraordinary contributions. What ! do you propose *in form*³², that the theatrical money should be applied to the uses of the soldiery ? No, surely. But I affirm, that soldiers must be raised ; that a fund has been allotted for their subsistence ; and that, in every well-regulated community, those who are paid by the public ought to serve the public. To profit of the present conjuncture, we must act with vigour and celebrity, we must dispatch ambassadors to animate the neighbouring states against Philip ; we must take the field in person. If war raged on the frontiers of this country, with what rapidity would the Macedonians march hither ? Why will you throw away a similar opportunity ? Know, that but one alternative remains, to carry the war into Macedon, or to receive it in Attica. If Olynthus resists, we may ravage the territories

³² Such a proposal the Athenians had absurdly declared punishable by death.

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of Philip ; should that republic be destroyed, who will hinder him from coming hither ? The Thebans ! to say nothing too severe, they would rather reinforce his arms. The Phocians ! they who, without our assistance, cannot defend themselves. O ! but he dares not come ! It is madness to think that the designs of which he already boasts with such bold imprudence, he will not venture to execute, when nothing opposes his success.³³ I think it unnecessary to describe the difference between attacking Philip at home, and waiting for him here. Were you obliged, only for one month, to encamp without the walls, and to subsist an army in the country, your husbandmen would sustain more loss than has been incurred by all the former exigencies of the war. This would happen, although the enemy kept at a distance ; but at the approach and entrance of an invader, what devastation must be produced ! Add to this, the insult and disgrace, the most ruinous of all losses, to men capable of reflection."

Philip
takes
Olynthus.
Olymp.
cvi. 1.
A.C. 348.

The arguments of Demosthenes prevailed : an embassy was sent into Peloponnesus, to inflame the hostility of that country against Philip ; and it was determined to assist the Olynthians with

³³ With all his policy, Philip seems to have had the vanity of a Greek. The vigour of the original is not to be translated : *Αν δε εκεινα Φιλίππος λαβη, τις αυτον επι κυλισει δουρο βαδιζειν ; Θηβαιαι ; μη λιαν πικρον ειπεν η, καλ συνεισβαλσαι ετοιμας. αλλα φοκεις, οι την οικειαν σχι διαι τε οντες φυλαττεω, εαν μη βοηθησητε υμεις η αλλος τις ; αλλ' οταν σχι βελησεται — των αποπνυτατων μερτοι αν' ειη, ει δ' εν ανωιαν οφλισκωνων, διως εκλαλει, ταυτα δυναθεις, μη προζει. I have used a little freedom with the "σχι βελησεται."*

an army of Athenian citizens. But before this resolution could be carried into effect, Olynthus was no more. The cavalry belonging to that place had acted with great spirit against the besiegers. As the works were too extensive to be completely invested, the Olynthian horsemen made frequent incursions³⁴ into the surrounding territory, where they not only supplied themselves with provisions and forage, but beat up the quarters, attacked the advanced posts, and intercepted the convoys of the enemy. These advantages were chiefly owing to the merit of one man. In the various skirmishes, as well as in the two general engagements which had happened since the commencement of the siege, Philip perceived that Apollonides, who commanded the enemy's horse, displayed such valour and abilities as might long retard, perhaps altogether defeat, the success of his undertaking. His secret emissaries were therefore set to work : perfidious clamours were sown among the populace of Olynthus ; Apollonides was publicly accused ; and by the malignant practices of traitors, condemned to banishment on a suspicion of treason.³⁵ The command of the cavalry was bestowed on Lasthenes and Euthycrates, two wretches who had sold their country to Philip. Having obtained some previous successes, which had been concerted the better to mask their designs, they advanced against a Macedonian post ; carried it at the first onset ; pursued the flying

³⁴ Diodor. l. xvi. 53.³⁵ Demosth. de falsa Legat.

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garrison ; and betrayed their own troops into an ambush prepared by the enemy. Surrounded on all sides, the Olynthians surrendered their arms : and this fatal disaster encouraging the Macedonian partisans within the walls, soon opened the gates of Olynthus.³⁶ The conqueror entered in triumph, plundered and demolished the city and dragged the inhabitants into³⁷ servitude. Lasthenes, Euthyrates, and their associates, shared the same, or even a worse fate. Philip is said to have abandoned them to the indignant rage of the Macedonian soldiers, who butchered them almost before his eyes. It is certain, that though his mean and blind ambition often employed treachery, his justice or his pride always detested the traitor.³⁸

This important conquest inspires Philip with the ambition to seize Thermopylae

The conquest of Olynthus put Philip in possession of the region of Chalcis, and the northern coast of the Ægean sea ; an acquisition of territory, which rendered his dominions on that side round and complete. His kingdom was now bounded on the north by the Thracian posses-

³⁶ Demosth. de falsa Legatione.

³⁷ Four reasons conspired to produce the severe treatment of the Olynthians ; — 1. Philip had lost a great many men in the siege ; *πολλες των στρατιωτων εν ταις τειχομαχiais απεβαλεν*. Diodor. p. 450. 2. The Olynthians had received his natural brothers, Aridæus and Menelaus, accused of treason. Justin. l. viii. c. iii. 3. Philip wanted money to carry on his intrigues in other cities ; *διαρπασας δε αυτην* (scil. Ολυνθον) *και τας ενοικοντας εξαυδραποδισαμενος, ελαφρατωλησε' τετο, δι' πραξας, χρηματων τε πολλων εις τον πολεμον ενπορησε*. 4. Diodorus immediately after adds the fourth reason, " That he might deter the neighbouring cities from opposing his measures." Diodor. p. 450,

³⁸ Demosth. Olynth. iii. sect. 8.

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sions of Kersobleptes, and on the south by the territory of Phocis, a province actually comprehending the straits of Thermopylæ, which had formerly belonged to a different division of Greece. Besides the general motives of interest, which prompted him to extend his dominions, he discerned the peculiar importance of acquiring the Thermopylæ and the Hellespont, since the former was emphatically styled the Gates of Greece, and the latter formed the communication between that country and the fertile shores of the Euxine. Greece, exceeding in population the proportion of its extent and fertility, annually drew supplies of corn from those northern regions. The Athenians, in particular, had settlements even in the remote peninsula of Crim Tartary, anciently called the Taurica Chersonesus, by means of which they purchased and imported the superfluous productions of that remote climate.* Their ships could only sail thither by the Hellespont; and should that important strait be reduced under the power of an enemy, they must be totally excluded from an useful, and even necessary branch of commerce.

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and the
Hellespont.

Philip perceived these consequences. It was the interest of all the Grecian republics to unite in assisting Kersobleptes and the Phocians, which was, in other words, to defend the Hellespont and Thermopylæ. The interest of the Macedonian was diametrically opposite; nor could he expect

Philip celebrates the festival of the Muses at Dium. Olymp. cviii. 1. A. C. 348.

* Demosthen. in Leptin.

C H A P. to accomplish the great objects of his reign,
XXXV. unless he first rendered himself master of those important stations. This delicate situation furnished a proper exercise for the dexterity of Philip. After the destruction of Olynthus, he celebrated a public festival of gratitude and joy, at the neighbouring town of Dium; to which, as at the Olympian and other Grecian games, all the republics were promiscuously invited, whether friends or enemies.⁴⁰ It appears that several Athenians assisted at these magnificent entertainments, which lasted nine days, in honour of the Muses, and which wanted no object of elegance or splendour, that either art could produce or wealth could purchase. The politeness and condescending affability of Philip obliterated the remembrance of his recent severity to Olynthus; and his liberal distribution of the spoils of that unfortunate city⁴¹ gained him

* Demosth. de falsa Legatione, & Diodor. p. 451.

⁴¹ Both Demosthenes and Diodorus mention an anecdote which does honour to Philip, and still more to Satyrus the player. After dinner, the King, according to his custom, was distributing his presents: amidst the general festivity, Satyrus alone wore a sad countenance. The King addressed him kindly, and, in the language of the times, desired him to ask a boon. Satyrus said, that such presents as others received (cups of gold, &c.) seemed to him of little value: that he had indeed something to ask, but feared a denial. Philip having encouraged him, he proceeded: "Apollophanes of Pydna was my friend: at his death his two daughters, both arrived at a marriageable age, were sent to Olynthus, taken captive, and subjected to all the calamities of servitude. These are the presents I request, not with any design unworthy of their father or myself, but that I may give them such portions as shall enable them to marry happily." Apollophanes had been an active opponent, and even the personal enemy of

new friends, and confirmed the attachment of his old partisans.

Amidst these scenes of rejoicing and festivity Philip seems not to have forgotten one moment, that the most immediate object of his policy was to detach the Athenians from the cause of Phocis and Kersobleptes, who were both their allies. For this purpose, while he courted individuals with peculiar address, he determined to make the public feel the inconvenience of the war, the better to prepare them for the insidious proposal of a separate peace. The bad conduct of Chares left the sea open to the Macedonians, who had silently acquired a considerable naval force. Philip began to attack the Athenians on their favourite element. His fleet ravaged their tributary islands of Lemnos and Imbros; surprised and took a squadron of Athenian vessels, stationed on the southern coast of Eubœa; and, encouraged by these advantages, boldly sailed to Attica, made a descent on the shore of Marathon, repelled the Athenian cavalry, headed by Deotimus, ravaged the territory, and carried off the Salaminian galley. From thence the victors proceeded to the isle of Salamis, and defeated a considerable detachment commanded by Charidemus. The illustrious trophies of Marathon and Salamis were effaced by the insults of the Macedonians, whose fleet returned home in

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Philip unexpectedly commits naval depredations on Attica.

Philip; yet this prince granted the request of Satyrus, and enabled him liberally to provide for the daughters of his friend.

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His intrigues
give him
possession
of Eubœa.

His deceit-
ful embassy
to Athens;

triumph, adorned with hostile spoils, and with military and naval glory.⁴²

The activity of Philip seconded his good fortune. His intrigues were renewed in Eubœa. Under pretence of delivering that island from the tyranny and extortions of Molossus, the Athenian commander, he landed such a body of troops there, as proved sufficient, with the assistance of his adherents, to expel the Athenians. Such a multiplication of calamities might have disgusted that people with the war against Philip, whose hostility, directed against them alone, seemed to have forgotten the Phocians and Kersobleptes; when secret but zealous partisans of Macedon arrived at Athens, as ambassadors from Eubœa, commissioned to settle amicably all differences between the two countries. They observed, that Philip had left the island absolutely free and independent; and that, though constrained to take arms in defence of his allies, he was sincerely desirous of making peace with the Athenians. The representations of the Eubœan ambassadors were enforced by the influence of two Athenians, Aristodemus and Neoptolemus, the first distinguished as a player, the second as a player and poet, who having acquired fortunes in Macedon, returned to their own country, to

⁴² In the chronology of these events, I have followed Dr. Leland. See his life of Philip, vol. ii. p. 43. The events themselves are related in the oration of Demosthenes, commonly entitled the First Philippic, but which the Doctor, with great probability, considers as two distinct orations spoken at different times.

forward the measures of their liberal protector. They affirmed, that the King of Macedon earnestly wished to live on good terms with the republic; and the Athenians paid much regard to men whose talents were then highly esteemed, and who remitted the riches amassed in a foreign country, to purchase lands in Attica, and to supply with alacrity the exigencies of the public service.

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Demosthenes saw through these dark and deep artifices⁴³; but in vain endeavoured to alarm the unsuspecting credulity of his countrymen. On a future occasion, after the plot had become manifest, he upbraids their careless indifference and delusion at this important crisis. "Had you been spectators in the theatre, and not deliberating on matters of the highest moment, you could not have heard Neoptolemus with more indulgence, nor me with more resentment."⁴⁴

in vain exposed by Demosthenes.

Such was the disposition of the assembly, when Æschines returned from his Peloponnesian embassy. He had assembled the great council of the Arcadians; revealed to them the dangerous views of Philip, which threatened the liberty of Greece; and, notwithstanding the powerful opposition of Hieronymus, and other Macedonian partisans, had engaged that people to approve the patriot zeal of Athens, and to deliberate on taking arms in the common cause. In relating the success of his embassy, he inveighed with great

Æschines returns from his embassy, and awakens the public resentment against Philip.

⁴³ Demosthen. de Chersoneso, et de Pace.

⁴⁴ Demosthen. de Chersoneso.

C H A P. severity against those mercenary traitors, who
 XXXV. had sold the interests of their country to a cruel
 tyrant. The Greeks had full warning of their
 danger. The miserable fate of Olynthus ought
 ever to be before their eyes. At his return
 through Peloponnesus, he had beheld a sight suffi-
 cient to melt the most obdurate heart; thirty
 young Olynthians, of both sexes, driven like
 a herd of cattle, as a present from Philip to
 some of the unworthy instruments of his am-
 bition.⁴⁵

The susceptible and ever-varying temper of the
 multitude was deeply affected by the represent-
 ations of Æschines; the pacific advices of Neopto-
 lemus and his associates were forgotten; war and
 revenge again echoed through the assembly. At
 the requisition of Æschines, ambassadors were
 dispatched to confirm the hostile resolutions of the
 Arcadians, and to awaken the terror of the neigh-
 bouring republics. The Athenian youth were
 assembled in the temple of Agraulos to swear
 irreconcilable hatred against Philip and the Ma-
 cedonians; and the most awful imprecations were
 denounced against the mercenary traitors who co-
 operated with the public enemy. This ferment-
 ation might at length have purified into strong and
 decisive measures; and had Philip possessed only
 an ordinary degree of vigilance, a confederacy
 might have been yet formed in Greece sufficient
 to repel the Macedonian arms. But that consum-
 mate politician thought nothing done while any

⁴⁵ Demosthen. de falsa Legatione, sect. 5.

thing was neglected; and, as he allowed not the slightest opportunity to pass unimproved, he often derived very important benefits from seemingly inconsiderable causes.

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An Athenian of the name of Phrynon, a man wealthy and powerful, had been attacked, robbed, and confined, by some Macedonian soldiers, who obliged him to purchase his liberty by a very considerable ransom.⁴⁶ As this violence had been committed during the fifteen days of truce that followed the celebration of the Olympic games, Phrynon very reasonably supposed that the King of Macedon, who had long been ambitious of obtaining a place in the Grecian confederacy, would not abet this act of aggravated impiety. He had therefore requested his countrymen, who at that time prepared to negotiate with Philip an exchange of prisoners, to join him in commission with Ctesiphon, a man of experience and capacity, who had been already named to that embassy, imagining that by appearing in a public character, he might the more easily recover the ransom and other monies that had been unjustly extorted from him. Having arrived in Macedon, the ambassadors were received and treated by Philip with uncommon politeness and respect; their demands were most obligingly granted, or rather prevented; the King apologised to Phrynon for the ignorant rusticity of his soldiers, which had led them to act so unwarrantably; and he lamented, both to Phrynon and Ctesiphon, the necessity of their present

Dexterity
of that
prince in
diverting
the storm.

⁴⁶ Æschines de falsa Legatione.

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He improves every favourable incident.

mission, since he had nothing more sincerely at heart than to live on good terms with their republic.⁴⁷ At their return to Athens, the representations of such men could not be without weight; nor could they fail to be extremely favourable to the King of Macedon.

Another incident followed, which was improved with no less dexterity.⁴⁸ At the taking and sack of Olynthus, Stratocles, and Eucrates, two Athenians of distinction, had been seized and carried into Macedon. By some accident these men had not been released with the other prisoners. Their relations were anxious for their safety, and therefore applied to the Athenians, that a proper person might be sent to treat of their ransom. Aristodemus was employed in this commission, but was more diligent in paying his court than in performing his duty; and, at his return home, neglected to give an account of his negotiation. Philip, meanwhile, whose vigilance never slept, and who well knew the hostile resolutions in agitation against him at Athens, released the prisoners without ransom, and dismissed them with the highest expressions of regard. Moved by gratitude, Stratocles appeared in the assembly, blazed forth the praises of the King of Macedon, and loudly complained against the careless indifference of Aristodemus, who had neglected to report his embassy.⁴⁹

The Athenians are persuaded

The artful player, thus called upon to act his part, excused his omitting to relate *one* example of

⁴⁷ Æschin. de falsa Legatione.

⁴⁸ Id. *ibid.*

⁴⁹ Id. *ibid.*

kindness, in a man who had recently given so many proofs of the most unbounded generosity. He expatiated on the candour and benevolence of Philip, and especially on his profound respect for the republic, with which, he assured them, the King of Macedon was earnest to conclude a peace, and even to enter into an alliance, on the most honourable and advantageous terms. He probably reminded them of the misfortunes which had attended their arms ever since they commenced war against this prince. Fifteen hundred talents expended with disgrace; seventy-five dependent cities, including those of the Chalcidic region, lost irrecoverably; Olynthus destroyed; Eubœa revolted; Athens dishonoured and exhausted; and Macedon more powerful and more respected than at any former period. This representation did not exceed the truth; and the calamities of the war had long inclined to peace the more moderate and judicious portion of the assembly. The artificial generosity of Philip, in his treatment of Phrynon and Stratocles, blazoned by the eloquence of Aristodemus, fixed the wavering irresolution of the multitude. The military preparations were suspended. Even Demosthenes and Æschines yielded to the torrent; and imagining that a bad peace was better than a bad war, (since it was impossible to expect success from the fluctuating councils of their country,) supported a ⁵⁰ decree of Philocrates for sending a herald and ambassa-

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to send an
embassy to
Philip.

⁵⁰ The decree was attacked by one Lucinus. Demosthenes defended it; and both Demosthenes and Æschines, as appears from the text, were on the embassy.

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 dors to penetrate the real intentions of Philip, and to sift those terms of accommodation with which he had so long amused them.

Character
 of the am-
 bassadors.

The ministers appointed to this commission seem to have been purposely chosen among men of opposite principles, who might mutually be checks on each other. Phrynon, Ctesiphon, Aristodemus, and Philocrates, who had uniformly testified their confidence in the King of Macedon, were opposed by Æschines and Demosthenes, who had long discovered their suspicions of that prince. To the embassy were added Nausicles and Dercyllus, men distinguished by the public offices which they had discharged with equal patriotism and fidelity; Jatrocles, the chosen friend of Æschines; and Cimon, illustrious for the name he bore, which descended to him from the greatest and most fortunate of the Athenian commanders. The whole number amounted to ten, besides Agalocreon of Tenedos, who was sent on the part of the Greek islands in alliance with Athens.⁵¹

Difficulties
 occasioned
 by the
 quarrel
 between
 Demos-
 thenes and
 Æschines.

Thus far contemporary authors agree; but in describing the events which followed the departure of the ambassadors, all is inconsistency and contradiction. The misunderstanding that arose between Æschines and Demosthenes, the former of whom was impeached by the latter, furnish us, in the accusation and defence, with the fullest and most diffuse, but at the same time the least authentic, materials, that present themselves in any passage of Grecian history. The whole

⁵¹ Demosthen. et Æschin. de falsa Legatione.

train of the negociation, as well as the events connected with it, are represented in colours the most discordant ; facts are asserted and denied ; while both parties appeal to the memory of the assembly before which they spoke, to the testimony of witnesses, and even to the evidence of public decrees and records ; circumstances that must appear very extraordinary, unless we consider that suborning of witnesses, perjury, and even the falsifying of laws and records, were crimes not unusual at Athens.⁵² Amidst this confusion, the discerning eye of criticism would vainly endeavour to penetrate the truth. *Æschines* was indeed acquitted by his countrymen. But nothing positive can be learned from a partial sentence, pronounced three years after the alleged crimes had been committed, when the power of Philip had increased to such an alarming degree, as gave his faction a decided ascendant even in the Athenian assembly.

To disentangle such perplexity, we shall keep chiefly to those facts which are allowed on both sides, deducing from them such consequences as seem most natural and probable. In the course of one year, three embassies were sent to Philip ; the first to propose a peace, the second to ratify it, the third to see the conditions of it fulfilled ; and in that space of time *Kersobleptes*, being stripped of his dominions, was reduced into captivity, and Philip, having seized *Thermopylæ*, invaded *Phocis*, and destroyed the twenty-two

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Account
of the ne-
gociation.
Olymp.
cviii. 1.
cviii. 2.
A. C. 348
and 347

⁵² See my Discourse on the Characters and Manners of the Athenians, prefixed to *Lysias* and *Isocrates*.

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cities of that province in less than twenty-two days. Nor was this all: a foreign prince having made himself master of Thermopylæ and the Hellespont, the most valuable safeguards of Greece:—having invaded and desolated the territory of a Grecian republic, the most respectable for its antiquity, power, and wealth, the seat of the Amphictyonic council, and of the revered oracle of Delphi:—these daring measures tended so little to excite the displeasure of Greece, that the King of Macedon had no sooner accomplished them, than he threatened to attack Athens (who weakly lamented calamities which she had neither prudence nor courage to prevent) at the head of a general confederacy of the Amphictyonic states.

Dissension
of the am-
bassadors.

Such extraordinary transactions, of which history scarcely offers another example for the instruction of posterity, Demosthenes ascribes entirely to the corruption and perfidy of the Athenian ambassadors. “The felicity of Philip,” he says, “consists chiefly in this; that having occasion for traitors, fortune has given him men treacherous and corrupt beyond his most sanguine hopes and prayers.”⁵³ This doubtless is the exaggeration of an orator, desirous by every means to blacken the character of his colleagues in the embassy, and particularly that of his adversary Æschines. Yet it will appear, from the most careful survey of the events of those times, that the incapacity

⁵³ Subsequent writers have copied the language of Demosthenes, *και χρημάτων πλεθος διαδοσ τοις εν ταις πολεσι ισχυοσι, πολλας ισχει προδοντας των πατριδων*. Diodorus, ubi supra.

and neglect, if not the treason, of the Athenian ministers, greatly contributed to the success of the Macedonian arms. C H A P. XXXV.

From the first moment of their departure from Athens, the ambassadors began to betray their mutual jealousies and suspicions of each other's fidelity. The dangerous character of Philocrates was equally dreaded by Æschines and Demosthenes⁵⁴; and the latter, if we may believe his rival, so much disgusted the other ambassadors by the morose severity of his temper, that they had almost excluded him their society; a circumstance rendered credible, not merely by the partial evidence of an adversary, but by the resentment, and indignation always expressed by Demosthenes against the behaviour of his colleagues. Having arrived at Pella, they were introduced to an audience; and spoke, as had been agreed on, in the order of their seniority. The discourse of Æschines was the most copious and elaborate, but seemed rather calculated for gaining merit with the Athenian assembly, than for influencing the conduct of Philip. "He recalled to the memory of the King, the favours of the Athenians towards his ancestors; the distressed condition of the children of Amyntas; the solicitations of Eurydicé; and the generous interpositions of Iphicrates, to whom the family of Philip owed the crown of Macedon. Having touched slightly on the ungrateful returns made by Ptolemy and Perdicas, he dwelt on the in-

Conference of the ambassadors with Philip.

Speech of Æschines.

⁵⁴ Demosthen. et Æschin. de falsa Legatione.

C H A P. justice of those hostilities which Philip had committed against the republic, especially in taking **XXXV.** Amphipolis, which his father Amyntas had acknowledged to be a dependent colony of Athens. He insisted on the impropriety of retaining this possession, which, as it could not be claimed by any ancient title, neither could it be held by the right of conquest, not being gained in any war between the two states. In the time of profound peace between Athens and Macedon, Philip had taken from the Amphipolitans an Athenian city, which it concerned his justice and his honour to restore, without delay, to its lawful and acknowledged owners."

That of
Demosthenes.

Had Æschines wished to furnish Philip with a pretence for protracting the negociation, he could not have done it more effectually than by such a demand. It could not possibly be expected, that a victorious monarch should set bounds to his own triumphs, in order to purchase peace by tamely surrendering one of the most important of his acquisitions. In this light the proposal appeared to Demosthenes, who thought that his colleague had totally forgotten the object of the embassy, the distressed state of Athens, how greatly the people had been harassed by the war, and how eagerly they wished for peace. It was now his own turn to speak before a prince whom he had often and highly offended, whose character and actions he had ever viewed and represented with the utmost severity; but whom, on the present occasion, it was his business to soothe rather than to irritate. The novelty of the

situation might have disconcerted a man of less sensibility than Demosthenes. The envious jealousy of his colleagues was prepared to listen, with a malicious ear, to those irresistible arguments which the orator is said to have promised, with a very unbecoming confidence; the Macedonian courtiers expected some prodigy of eloquence from the perpetual opponent of their admired master. Amidst the silent suspense of an unfavourable audience, Demosthenes began to speak with ungraceful hesitation, and after uttering a few obscure and interrupted sentences, his memory totally forsook him. Philip endeavoured to remove his embarrassment with a mortifying politeness, telling him that he was not now in a theatre⁵⁵, where such an accident might be attended with disagreeable consequences; and exhorting him to take time for recollection, and to pursue his intended discourse. Demosthenes again began, but without better success. The assembly beheld his confusion with a malignant pleasure; and the ambassadors were ordered to withdraw.

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His embarrassment and confusion.

After a proper interval, they were summoned to the royal presence. Philip received them with great dignity, and answered with precision and elegance the arguments respectively used by the several speakers, particularly those of Æschines.

Philip answers the ambassadors;

⁵⁵ Notwithstanding the passion of the Athenians for dramatic entertainments, and their consideration for the character of players beyond that of any other nation, they were indecently severe against their negligencies and faults on the theatre; as appears from various passages of the judicial orations of Demosthenes and Æschines.

C H A P. The confused hints of Demosthenes he passed
XXXV. over with merited neglect; thus proving to the world, that the man who had ever arraigned him with most severity in the tumultuous assemblies of Greece, had not dared to say any thing in his presence which deserved the smallest notice or reply. The ambassadors were then invited to an entertainment, where Demosthenes is said to have behaved with great weakness, and where Philip displayed such powers of merriment and festivity, as eclipsed his talents for negociation and war. The ambassadors were persuaded of his candour and sincerity, and dismissed with a letter to the people of Athens, assuring them that his intentions were truly pacific, and that as soon as they consented to an alliance with him, he would freely indulge those sentiments of affection and respect which he had ever entertained for their republic.

invites
them to an
entertain-
ment.

Their de-
parture
from Ma-
cedon.

Artifices of
Demo-
sthenes.

The mortification which Demosthenes had received, made him at first vent his chagrin by condemning the conduct of his colleagues; but when he reflected, that a fair representation of facts would greatly depreciate his character at Athens, policy prevailed over resentment. He began privately to tamper with his companions on the road, freely rallied the confusion into which he had been betrayed, extolled the ready genius and memory of Æschines; and endeavoured, by promises and flattery, to ingratiate himself with those whom his recent behaviour had justly provoked and disgusted. In a conversation at Larissa, in Thessaly, he acknowledged the masterly reason-

ing of the King of Macedon. The ambassadors C H A P.
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all joined in the praises of this extraordinary man. Æschines admired the strength and perspicuity with which he had answered their respective discourses; and Ctesiphon cried out in transport, that, in the course of a long life, he had never beheld a man of such a polite and engaging deportment. Demosthenes then artfully said, "he apprehended they would not venture to make such representations to the Athenian assembly; that their honour and safety required them to be consistent in their reports;" to which they all assented; and Æschines acknowledges, that he was prevailed on by the entreaties of his rival to promise, that he would give a favourable and false account of the behaviour of Demosthenes; and assure the people of Athens, that he had spoken with dignity and firmness on the affair of Amphipolis.

According to the forms of the republic, the ambassadors first reported the success of their negotiation, and delivered the letter of Philip, to the senate of the Five Hundred. They explained, in order, what each had said in presence of the King; when Demosthenes, rising up the last, affirmed with his usual oath of asseveration⁵⁵, "that the ambassadors had not spoken in the senate as they did before Philip; that they had spoken much better in Macedon:" he then moved, that they should be honoured

They report their negotiation to the senate.

⁵⁵ *Με Δία*, indecently explained "by Jove!" since the expression is elliptical, and includes a short prayer, *εὐχομαι τὸν Δία σῶσαι τὰ ἐμὰ*! "my assertion is true, may Jove thus protect me!"

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The same
reported
to the
assembly.

Extraordi-
nary beha-
viour of
Demos-
thenes.

with a crown of sacred olive⁵⁶, and invited next day to an entertainment in the Prytanæum.⁵⁷

The day following, they made their report to the assembly of the people; when the ambassadors, finding the subject not disagreeable to their hearers, expatiated on the politeness, condescension, eloquence, and abilities of the prince, with whom their republic was ready not only to negotiate a peace, but to contract an alliance. Having allowed them to exhaust this fertile subject, Demosthenes at length arose, and, after those contortions of body which, if we believe his adversary, were familiar to him, declared, that he was equally surprised at those who, in a deliberation of such importance, could talk of such trifles, and at those who could endure to hear them. "The negociation may be briefly reported. Here is the decree by which we are commissioned. We have executed this commission. Here is Philip's answer (pointing to the letter). You have only to examine its contents." A confused murmur arose in the assembly, some applauding the strength and precision of the speech, others condemning the asperity of the speaker. As soon as he could be heard, Demosthenes thus proceeded: "You shall see how I will lop off those superfluous matters. Æschines praises the memory and eloquence of Philip, in which, however, I find nothing extraordinary, since any other man, placed in the same advan-

⁵⁶ See the discourse of Lysias on an accusation for cutting down a consecrated olive.

⁵⁷ Æschin. de falsa Legatione.

tageous circumstances of rank and fortune, would be equally attended to and admired. Ctesiphon praises the gracefulness and dignity of his person; my colleague Aristodemus does not yield to him in these particulars. Others admire his mirth and gaiety at table, yet in such qualities Philocrates excels him.⁵⁸ But this is unseasonable. I shall therefore draw up a decree for convening an extraordinary assembly, to deliberate on the peace and the alliance.⁵⁹

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The decree was proposed on the eighth of March, and the assembly was fixed for the seventeenth of the same month. In the interval, arrived, as ambassadors from Philip, Antipater, the most respected of his ministers; Parmenio, the bravest of his generals; and Eurylochus, who united, almost in an equal degree, the praise of eloquence and valour. Parmenio had been employed in the siege of Halus, a place filled with malcontents from Thessaly, who still resisted the Macedonian power in that country. That he might have leisure to join his colleagues, Parmenio ordered the siege to be converted into a blockade; and the merit of three such ambassadors sufficiently announced the important purposes which Philip wished to effect by the present negotiation. They were received with great distinction by the senate, and (what seems extraordinary) lodged in the house of Demos-

Philip
sends am-
bassadors
to Athens.

⁵⁸ Even by Demosthenes's testimony, it required the combination of several Athenian characters to match the various excellencies of Philip.

⁵⁹ *Æschin. de falsa Legatione.*

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who corrupt
Æschines.

During the
negotia-
tion Philip
continues

thenes, who was careful to adorn their seats in the theatre, and to distinguish them by every other mark of honour.⁶⁰ Having been introduced, on the appointed day, into the assembly, they declared the object of their commission; to conclude in the name of their master a peace and alliance with the people of Athens. Demosthenes, in an elaborate speech, urged the expediency of listening to their demands; but without neglecting the interest of the Athenian allies. Æschines delivered the same opinion, and severely reproached Philocrates, who urged the necessity of precipitating the treaty. The two first days were spent in debate; but on the third, the influence of Philocrates prevailed, chiefly, if we believe Demosthenes, through the unexpected accession of Æschines to that party. He, who had hitherto been a strenuous defender of the interest of Kersobleptes, declared that he had now altered his opinion. That peace was necessary for Athens, and ought not to be retarded by the slow deliberations of other powers. That the circumstances of the republic were changed; and that, in their actual situation, it was an idle vanity to attend to those who flattered them with pompous panegyrics of the magnanimity of their ancestors; since the weakness of Athens was no longer called on to undertake the protection of every state that could not defend its own cause.⁶¹

Demosthenes had formerly suspected the treachery of Æschines; but this speech fully convinced him that if his adversary had not before

⁶⁰ Æschin. in Ctesiphont.

⁶¹ Demosth. de falsa Legatione.

sold himself to Philip, he had then been tampered with, and gained by the Macedonian ambassadors. But Demosthenes, and the assembly in general, saw the necessity of immediately ratifying the peace with that prince, who had actually taken the field in Thrace, along the coast of which the Athenians still possessed Serrium, Doriscus, and several other tributary cities. A decree was proposed for this purpose, and ambassadors were named, who might, with all convenient speed, repair to Philip, in order mutually to give and receive the oaths and ratifications of the treaty just concluded at Athens. The ambassadors were Eubulus, Æschines, Ctesiphon, Democrates, and Cleon; the principal of whom, being entirely devoted to the Macedonian interest, contrived various pretences to delay their departure. In this interval, Kersobleptes met with the unhappy fate of which we have already taken notice; and Philip, encouraged by the success of his intrigues, ventured to attack the cities of Serrium and Doriscus, which readily submitted to his arms.⁶² Upon intelligence of the latter event, the Athenians dispatched Euclides to inform the King of Macedon, that the places which he had taken belonged to Athens; to which he coldly replied, that he had not been so instructed by his ambassadors, nor was there any mention of those cities in the treaty recently signed, but not yet ratified, between the two powers.

Æschines and his colleagues still delayed to set out, although the conduct of Philip continu-

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to make
conquests
in Thrace.

Third em-
bassy to
Philip.

⁶² Demosthen. Orat. v. in Philipp.

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Speech of
Demosthenes;

Anticipating his more experienced colleagues, he observed, "That they were unfortunately divided in their views and sentiments. That his own were strictly conformable to those of Philip. From the beginning he had advised a peace and

* Demosth. de falsa Legatione.

alliance with Macedon. That he had procured all possible honours for the ambassadors of that country during their residence in Athena, and had afterwards escorted their journey as far as Thebes. He knew that his good intentions had been misrepresented to Philip, on account of some expressions that had dropped from him in the Athenian assembly. But if he had denied the superior excellence of that prince in beauty, in drinking, and in debate ⁶⁴, it was that he believed such qualities to belong to a woman, a sponge, and a hireling rhetorician and sophist, rather than to a warlike monarch, and mighty conqueror." This extraordinary apology excited the derision of the Macedonian courtiers, and made the Athenian ambassadors hold down their heads in confusion. ⁶⁵

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Æschines first recovered his composure ; and modestly addressing Philip, observed, " That the present was not a proper occasion for the Athenian ministers to praise or defend their own conduct. They had been deemed worthy of their commission by the republic which employed them, and to which alone they were accountable. ⁶⁶ Their actual business was to receive Philip's oath in ratification of the treaty already concluded on the part of Athens. The military preparations carrying on in every part of Macedon could not but excite their fears for the

of Æschines.

⁶⁴ See above, p. 119.

⁶⁵ Æschin. de falsa Legatione.

⁶⁶ The speech of Æschines, as reported by himself, is inimitably graceful and dignified. *Λεγων' οτι πεμφειω ημας Αθηναιοι προσθει,* &c. Vid. p. 261. et seq. edit. Wolf.

C H A P. unhappy Phocians. But he entreated Philip, **XXXV.** that, if he was determined to gratify the Thebans by making war on that unfortunate people, he would make at least a proper distinction between the innocent and the guilty. The sacrilegious violators of the temple ought to be punished with due severity; the state itself must be spared; since the laws and institutions of Greece guard the safety of every Amphictyonic city. *Æschines* then spoke, in the severest terms, against the injustice and cruelty of the Thebans, who, he ventured to prophesy, would repay the partiality of Philip with the same falsehood and ingratitude with which they had been accustomed to requite their former allies and benefactors."

Philip's
profound
dissimula-
tion.

The discourse of *Æschines*, though it could not be expected to move the resolution of the King, was well calculated to raise the credit of the speaker, when it should be reported in his own country. Philip confined himself to vague expressions of friendship and respect. The ambassadors of Thebes were already at Pella, a circumstance which furnished him with a pretence for declining to make an explicit declaration in favour of Phocis. But he hinted his compassionate concern for the Phocians; and requested the Athenians to accompany him to Thessaly, that he might avail himself of their abilities and experience to settle the affairs of that country, which required his immediate presence. Extraordinary as this demand was, the Athenians readily complied with it, notwithstanding the King, who had ordered his army to march, was

attended in this expedition by the ambassadors of Thebes, who, as well as the Athenians, were daily entertained at his table, and whose views were diametrically opposite to the interests both of Phocis and of Athens.⁶⁷

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The unhappy and distracted situation of the former republic promised a speedy issue to the Sacred War, which, for more than two years, had been feebly carried on between the Phocians on one side, and the Thebans and Locrians on the other, by such petty incursions and ravages as indicated the inveterate rancour of combatants, who still retained the desire of hurting, after they had lost the power.⁶⁸ During the greater part of that time, the Athenians, amused by their negotiation with Philip, afforded no assistance to their unfortunate allies. The treasures of Delphi, immense as they were, at length began to fail. The Phocians, thus abandoned and exhausted, reflected with terror and remorse on their past conduct; and, in order to make atonement for their sacrilegious violations of the temple, instituted a judicial enquiry against Phaleucus, their general, and his accomplices, in plundering the dedications to Apollo.⁶⁹ Several were condemned to death; Phaleucus was deposed; and the Phocians, having performed these substantial acts of justice, which tended to remove the odium that had long adhered to their cause, solicited, with better hopes of success, the assistance of Sparta and Athens.

The Phocian war carried on with little activity on either side. Olymp. cviii. 2. A. C. 349.

The Phocians condemn the plunderers of the temple.

⁶⁷ Demosth. de falsa Legatione.

⁶⁸ Diodor. l. xvi. p. 454.

⁶⁹ Idem, l. xvi. p. 452.

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The Spartans claim the superintendence of the temple.

Phaleucus and his mercenaries seize Nicæa.

Disaster of the Phocians in the temple of Abæan Apollo.

But the crafty Archidamus, who had long directed the Spartan councils, considered the distress of the Phocians as a favourable opportunity to urge the claim of his own republic to the superintendence of the Delphic temple; and actually sent ambassadors into Thessaly, to confer with the King of Macedon on that ⁷⁹ subject. The Athenians paid more attention to the request of their allies, who, as an inducement to excite their activity, offered to put them in possession of the towns of Nicæa, Alpenus, and Thronium, which commanded the straits of Thermopylæ. But this salutary plan, which might have retarded the fate of Greece, was defeated by Phaleucus, who commanding eight thousand mercenaries, that acknowledged no authority but that of their general, established his head-quarters at Nicæa, and despised the menaces both of Phocis and of Athens.

Mortifying as this disappointment must have been, it was followed by a disaster in another quarter far more afflicting. The Phocians had fortified the city of Abæ, to defend their northern frontier against the depredations of the Locrians. The Thebans, reinforced by some auxiliaries of Macedon, marched against that place. The Phocians, with more courage than prudence, met them in the field; but were defeated with great slaughter, and pursued in their disordered flight, through the surrounding territory. A party of above five hundred took

⁷⁹ Demosth. et Æschin. ubi supra.

refuge in the temple of Abæan Apollo, where they remained for several days, sleeping under the porticoes, on beds of dried herbs, straw, and other combustible materials. An accidental fire, that began in the night, was communicated to the whole edifice, part of which was consumed, while the unhappy Phocians were stifled, or burnt to ashes.⁷¹

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The Thebans failed not to represent this calamity as a judgment of Heaven, against the daring impiety of wretches, who had ventured to take refuge in the temple of a god whom their sacrilege had long offended. They entreated Philip to assist them in destroying the remnant of the guilty race. This was the chief purpose of their embassy to that prince, whom the Athenians, as related above, entreated to spare the nation while he punished the criminals; and the Lacedæmonians, regardless of the fate of Phocis, thought only of making good their ancient claim to the guardianship of the Delphic temple.

The Thebans instigate Philip to desolate Phocis.

Philip treated the deputies of the three republics with apparent frankness and cordiality, under the veil of which he knew so well to disguise the interests of his policy and ambition. He assured the Thebans, that his arms should be employed to recover for them the towns of Orchomenus, Coronæa, and Tilphusium, which, ever ready to rebel against a tyrannical capital, had readily revolted to the Phocians during their invasion of

Philip attempts in vain to corrupt the Theban ambassadors.

⁷¹ Diodorus, p. 454.

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Boeotia. The Phocians, he said, had rendered themselves the objects of divine displeasure; it would be as meritorious to punish, as it was impious to protect them. He was determined that both they and their allies should suffer those calamities which their crimes so justly deserved. Thus far Philip was sincere; for, in these particulars, the views of Thebes were exactly conformable to his own. But in his mind he agitated other matters, in which the interest of Thebes interfered with that of Macedon. To accomplish those purposes without offending his allies, it was necessary to gain the ambassadors. Caresses, flattery, and promises, were lavished in vain. Money was at length tendèred with a profuse liberality; but, though no man ever possessed more address than Philip in rendering his bribes acceptable, the Theban deputies remained honest and uncorrupted, firmly maintaining to the end their patriotism and their honour. Philon, the chief of the embassy, answered for his colleagues: "We are already persuaded of your friendship for us, independent of your presents. Reserve your generosity for our country, on which it will be more profitably bestowed, since your favours, conferred on Thebes, will ever excite the gratitude both of that republic and its ministers."⁷²

Philip corrupts and deceives the Athenian ambassadors.

Demosthenes extols the dignity of this reply, as becoming rather the ambassadors of Athens. But these ministers, though one object of their commission was to save the Grecian state which the

⁷² Demosth. de falsa Legatione.

Thebans wished to destroy, discovered neither integrity nor spirit. All of them, but Demosthenes himself, accepted the presents of the King of Macedon, who found little difficulty in persuading men, thus prepossessed in his favour, that he pitied the Phocians; that he respected Athens; that he detested the insolence of Thebes; and that, should he ever proceed to the straits of Thermopylæ, his expedition would be more dangerous to that state than to its enemies. At present however he observed, that he had private reasons for managing the friendship of a people who set no bounds to their resentment. From such motives he had hitherto declined ratifying the peace with Athens; but this measure he would no longer defer. He only entreated, that, to save appearances with the Thebans, the name of the Phocians might be omitted in the treaty. This arduous work was at length brought to a conclusion; and for the more secrecy, transacted in a place which Demosthenes calls a tavern, adjoining to the temple of Pollux, in the neighbourhood of Pheræ. The Athenian ambassadors took leave, affecting to be persuaded (perhaps persuaded in reality) of the good intentions of the King of Macedon. About the same time the ambassadors of Sparta departed, but with far less satisfaction. They either perceived, from the beginning, the artifices of the prince with whom they came to treat, or at least made such a report to Archidamus, as convinced him that his republic had not any advantage to expect from the preponderance of the Macedonian in-

C H A P. terest, and the destruction of the Phocians ; and
 XXXV. that should the Spartans persist in their claim to
 the superintendence of the Delphic temple, they
 must prepare to assert it by force of arms.

Philip's
 flattering
 letter to
 the Athe-
 nians.

Archidamus raised an army for this purpose, and marched towards the straits. But the intrigues of Philip, as we shall have occasion to relate, rendered his hostility as impotent as his negotiations had been fruitless. From Thessaly that prince had already sent a letter to the Athenians, couched in the most artful terms. He expressed his profound respect for the state, and his high esteem for its ambassadors; declaring that he should omit no opportunity of proving how earnestly he desired to promote the prosperity and glory of Athens. He requested that the means might be pointed out to him, by which he could most effectually gratify the people. Of the conditions of the peace and alliance he was careful to make no mention: but after many other general declarations of his good-will, he entreated them "not to be offended at his detaining their ambassadors, of whose eloquence and abilities he wished to avail himself in settling the affairs of Thessaly."⁷³

Æschines
 gives an
 account of
 the em-
 bassy to the
 Athenian
 assembly.

Soon afterwards these ambassadors returned home; and having given an account of their negotiation to the senate of Five Hundred, with very little satisfaction to that select body, they next appeared before the popular assembly. Æschines first mounted the rostrum, and in an

⁷³ Demosthen. et Æschin. ubi supra.

elaborate and artful discourse, set forth the advantages resulting from his successful embassy, in which he had persuaded Philip to embrace precisely those measures which the interest of Athens required. That, now, the people had peace instead of war, and that, without harassing themselves by military expeditions, they had only to remain quietly at home, enjoying the amusements of the city, and in a few days they would learn that Philip had passed Thermopylæ, to take vengeance, not on the Phocians, but on the Thebans, who had been the real authors of the war, and who, having entertained a design of seizing the temple, were not the less culpable (as had been proved to Philip) because they had failed in this impious purpose. That the Bœotian allies of Thespiæ and Plataea, whose hatred to Thebes was as inveterate as their attachment to Athens was sincere, would be restored to their pristine strength and splendour. That the Thebans, not the Phocians, would be compelled to pay the fine imposed by the Amphictyonic council, and to repair the fatal effects of sacrilege and profanation. That the magistrates of Thebes foresaw the hostility of Philip, and well knew by whom it had been excited. "They have therefore," said Æschines, "devoted me to destruction, and actually set a price upon my head. The people of Eubœa are equally alarmed by our accommodation with Philip, not doubting that their island will be restored to us as an equivalent for Amphipolis. Nor are these the only advantages of the treaty: another point of still higher importance, a point of the

C H A P. most intimate concern to the public, has been se-
XXXV. cured. But of this I shall speak at another time,
 since at present I perceive the envy and malignity
 of certain persons ready to break forth." The
 advantage hinted at, with such significant obscu-
 rity, was the recovery of Oropus, a considerable
 city on the Athenian frontier which had been
 long subject to Thebes.

The suspi-
 cions of
 Demos-
 thenes
 ridiculed
 by his col-
 leagues.

This specious harangue, so flattering to the in-
 dolence and vain hopes of the multitude, was
 received with general approbation, notwithstand-
 ing the opposition of Demosthenes, who declared
 that he knew nothing of all those great advan-
 tages promised by his colleague; and that he
 did not expect them. Æschines and Philocrates
 heard him with the supercilious contempt of men
 in possession of a secret with which he was un-
 acquainted. But when he endeavoured to con-
 tinue his discourse, and to expose their artifice
 and insincerity, all was clamour, indignation, and
 insult. Æschines bade him remember, not to
 claim any share of the rewards due to the import-
 ant services of his colleagues. Philocrates, with
 an air of pleasantry, said, it was no wonder that
 the hopes of Demosthenes were less sanguine
 than his own, "since he drinks water; I wine."
 This insipid jest was received with loud bursts
 of laughter and applause, which prevented the
 assembly from attending to the spirited remon-
 strances of Demosthenes. A motion was made,
 and agreed to, for thanking Philip for his equit-
 able and friendly intentions, as well as for ra-
 tifying a perpetual peace and alliance between

Athens and Macedon. In the same decree it was determined that the Phocians should submit to the Amphictyonic council, under pain of incurring the displeasure of the republic.⁷⁴

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These articles, together with the secret motives which produced them, were, by the emissaries of Philip, immediately communicated to the Phocian ambassadors then residing at Athens; who, transported with joy at the prospect of averting the calamities which long threatened their country, lost no time in transmitting the agreeable intelligence to their fellow-citizens. They concluded, with a high degree of probability, that, however Philip might deceive the Phocians, the ministers of Athens could never be so bold as publicly to deceive the Athenians; and that, therefore, they could no longer entertain any reasonable doubt of the favourable disposition of the King of Macedon. This belief was so firmly established, that when Archidamus marched into Phocis at the head of an army in order to defend the temple against Philip, the Phocians rejected his assistance, observing, that they feared for Sparta much more than for themselves; upon which the Lacedæmonians returned into Peloponnesus.⁷⁵

The success of Philip's artifices with the Athenians deceives the Phocian ambassadors at Athens;

which makes the Phocians reject the assistance of Sparta.

Philip was now prepared for executing his grand enterprise. Halus, long besieged, had submitted to the united arms of Parmenio and his own. Fresh troops had arrived from Macedon. The Athenians were appeased; the Lacedæmonians had retired; the Phocians were

Philip negotiates with Phaulleus the cession of Nicæa.

⁷⁴ Demosthen. de falsa Legatione.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

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imposed on; the Thessalians, Thebans, and Locrians, were ready to follow his standard. One obstacle only remained, and that easy to be surmounted. Phaleucus, who commanded eight thousand mercenaries, still kept possession of Nicæa. But a man who had betrayed the interest of his own republic, could not be very obstinate in defending the cause of Greece. Philip entered into a negotiation with him, in order to get possession of Nicæa⁷⁶, without which it would have been impossible to pass the Thermopylæ; and while this transaction was going forward, wrote repeated letters to the Athenians, full of cordiality and affection.

Philip
continues
to veil his
designs in
obscurity.

He suspected the dangerous capriciousness of a people whose security might yet be alarmed; and whose opposition might still prove fatal to his designs, should they either march forth to the straits, or command their admiral Proxenus, who was stationed in the Opuntian gulph, between Locris and Eubœa, to intercept the Macedonian convoys; for, the frontiers both of Phocis and Thessaly having long lain waste in consequence of the sacred war, Philip received his provisions chiefly by sea. The seasonable professions of friendship, contained in the King's letters, not only kept the Athenians from listening to the remonstrances of Demosthenes, but prevailed on them to send northward that orator, together with Æschines, and several others, whose advice and assistance Philip affected to desire in settling the arduous business in which he was engaged.

⁷⁶ Diodor. l. xvi. p. 455.

Demosthenes saw through the artifice of his enemies, for withdrawing him, at this important crisis, from his duty in the assembly ; he therefore absolutely refused the commission. *Æschines*, on pretence of sickness, staid at home to watch and counteract the measures of his rival. The other ambassadors departed, in compliance with the request of Philip, and the orders of their republic, and in hopes of seeing a treaty fulfilled, which, they had been taught to believe, would be attended with consequences equally advantageous and honourable.⁷⁷

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While the ambassadors travelled through *Eubœa*, in their way to join the King of Macedon, they learned, to their utter astonishment, the wonderful events that had been transacted. *Phaleucus* had been persuaded to evacuate *Nicæa*. He retired towards *Peloponnesus*, and embarked at *Corinth*, with a view to sail to *Italy*, where he expected to form an establishment. But the capricious and ungovernable temper of his followers compelled him to make a descent on the coast of *Elis*. After this they re-embarked, and sailed to *Crete*, where their invasion proved fatal to their general. Having returned to the *Peloponnesus*, they were defeated by the *Elians* and *Arcadians*. The greater part of those who survived the battle fell into the hands of the enemy, by whom they were shot with arrows or precipitated from rocks. A feeble remnant escaped to their ships, but perished soon afterwards

Disaster
of Phaleu-
cus and his
followers.

⁷⁷ Demosthen. de falsa Legatione.

C H A P. in an insurrection which they had excited, or fo-
XXXV. mented, in the isle of Sicily. The destruction
 of this numerous body of men is ascribed by an-
 cient historians ⁷⁸ to the Divine vengeance which
 pursued their sacrilege and impiety. It is asto-
 nishing that those superstitious writers did not
 reflect on the swifter and more terrible destruc-
 tion that overtook the whole Phocian nation, by
 whom the wickedness of Phaleucus and his fol-
 lowers had been so recently condemned; and by
 whom, had not power been wanting, it would
 have been punished with an exemplary rigour.

Cruel de-
 cree of the
 Amphic-
 tyons
 against
 Phocis;

Philip having passed the straits of Thermopylæ,
 was received by the Phocians as their deliverer.
 He had promised to plead their cause before the
 Amphictyonic council, to the decisions of which
 that credulous people consented to submit, well
 knowing that a prince who entered Greece at the
 head of a numerous army might easily controul the
 resolutions of the Amphictyons, and fondly believ-
 ing that prince to be their friend. The deputies of
 Athens had not yet arrived; those of the southern
 republics had not even been summoned. The
 Locrians, Thebans, and Thessalians, alone com-
 posed the assembly that was to decide the fate of
 Phocis; a country which they had persecuted with
 relentless hostility in a war of ten years. The
 sentence was such as might be expected from the
 cruel resentment of the judges. It was decreed
 that the Phocians should be excluded from the
 general confederacy of Greece, and for ever de-
 prived of the right to send representatives to the

⁷⁸ Diodorus, l. xvi. c. 20. gives this as the general opinion.

council of Amphictyons; that their arms and horses should be sold for the benefit of Apollo; that they should be allowed to keep possession of their lands, but compelled to pay annually from their produce the value of sixty thousand talents, till they had completely indemnified the temple; that their cities should be dismantled, and reduced to distinct villages, containing no more than sixty houses each, at the distance of a furlong from each other; and that the Corinthians, who had recently given them some assistance, should therefore be deprived of the presidency at the Pythian games; which important prerogative, together with the superintendence of the temple of Delphi, as well as the right of suffrage in the Amphictyonic council, lost by the Phocians, should thenceforth be transferred to the King of Macedon. It was decreed that the Amphictyons, having made effectual these regulations, should next proceed to procure all due repairs and expiations to the temple, and should exert their wisdom and their power to establish, on a solid foundation, the tranquillity and happiness of Greece.⁷⁹

This extraordinary decree, when communicated to the Phocians, filled that miserable people with such terror and dismay, as rendered them totally incapable of acting with vigour or with union. They took not any *common* measures for repelling the invader; a few cities only, more daring than the rest, endeavoured, with unequal strength, to defend their walls, their temples,

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which is
cruelly
executed
by the
Macedo-
nians.
Olymp.
cvi. 3.
A. C. 347.

⁷⁹ Diodor. l. xvi. c. 59. et seq.

C H A P. and the revered tombs of their ancestors. Their
XXXV. feeble resistance was soon overcome; all opposition ceased, and the Macedonians proceeded to execute the will of the Amphictyonic council with inflexible cruelty, and with such undisturbed order and silence as seemed more dreadful than the tumultuary ravages of the fiercest war. Without dropping a tear, or heaving a sigh, since the smallest mark of regret was construed into an obstinacy of guilt, the wretched Phocians beheld the destruction of their ancient monuments and trophies, their proud walls levelled with the ground, the fertile banks of the divine Cephissus covered with ruin and desolation, and the venerable cities of Daulis, Peneus, Lilæa, and Hyampolis, which had flourished above nine centuries in splendour and prosperity, and which will ever flourish in the song of Homer, so totally burned or demolished as scarcely to leave a vestige of their existence.⁶⁰ After this terrible havoc of whatever they possessed most valuable and respected, the inhabitants were driven like herds of cattle to the settlements allotted for them, and compelled to cultivate their paternal fields for the benefit of merciless and unthankful masters. At the distance of three years, travellers, who passed through Phocis to visit the temple of Delphi, melted with compassion, or shuddered with horror, at the sight of such piteous and unexampled devastation. They turned their reluctant eyes from the shattered ruins of a country and a

⁶⁰ Pausanias in Phocic. et Diodorus, l. xvi. c. 59. et seq.

people once so illustrious; the youth, and men of full age, had either perished in the war, or been dragged into captivity; the populous cities were no more; and the villages were thinly inhabited by women, children, and wretched old men, whose silent but emphatic expressions of deep-rooted misery exceeded all power of words to describe.⁸¹

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The unexpected news of these melancholy events reached Athens in five days. The people were then assembled in the Piræus to examine the state of their harbours and shipping. The dreadful intelligence filled them with consternation. They imagined that they already beheld the destructive armies of Macedon and Thessaly, excited by the inveterate hostility of Thebes, pouring in upon their northern frontier, and overwhelming the whole country with havoc and desolation. A decree immediately passed, at the motion of Callisthenes, which marked the utmost danger and dismay. It was resolved, "that the Athenians, who usually resided in the country, should be summoned to the defence of the city; that those, within the distance of twelve miles round, should, along with their persons, transport their most valuable effects into the city or the Piræus; that those, at a greater distance, should respectively convey themselves and their property to the nearest fortresses, particularly Eleusis, Phylé, Aphidna, Sunium, the principal places of strength in the Attic territory."⁸²

The news of these events produce consternation in Athens.

This decree shews, that terror was the first

Philip writes the

⁸¹ Demosthen. et Æschin. de falsa Legat. et de Coran.

⁸² Demosthen. de falsa Legat. sect. 20.

C H A P. XXXV. movement of the Athenians; but vengeance was the second. Reluctantly cooped up within their walls they called aloud for arms: levies were prepared for the relief of Phocis; and their admiral Proxenus, who had lately returned from the neighbouring coast, was ordered again to direct his course towards that country. The King of Macedon was duly attentive to those transactions, of which he had been regularly informed by his emissaries. He therefore wrote a letter to the Athenians, in that style of superiority which the success of his policy and of his arms justly entitled him to assume. After acquainting them with his treatment of the Phocians, he mentions his being informed of their preparations for supporting that impious people, who were not included in the treaty of peace recently signed and ratified between Athens and Macedon. He exhorts them to lay aside this unwarrantable design, which could have no other effect than to shew the iniquity and extravagance of their conduct, in arming against a prince, with whom they had so lately concluded an alliance. "But if you persist, know that we are prepared for repelling your hostilities with vigour."

The Athenians pass a decree for receiving the fugitive Phocians.

This mortifying letter was received at the same time that the Athenian ambassadors returned from Eubœa, and brought such accounts of the destruction of the Phocians, that it appeared scarcely possible to afford them any relief. All that remained, was to save, from the cruel vengeance of their enemies, the miserable wreck of that unfor-

fortunate community. The Athenians passed a decree for receiving the fugitives with kindness, and for providing them with settlements in Attica, or in the foreign dependencies of the republic; a resolution which, though it was founded on the most evident duties of gratitude and humanity towards ancient and faithful allies, gave great offence to the inexorable wrath of the Thessalians and Thebans.⁸³

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Amidst these transactions, the Macedonian partisans, and especially Æschines and Philocrates, whose vain assurances had been attended with such fatal effects, had just cause to dread the resentment of their country. The former, who had been the principal agent in this disgraceful scene of intrigue and delusion, no longer affected sickness; he forgot the threatenings denounced against him by Thebes; he disregarded the Athenian decree, prohibiting any citizen to stir from the walls; and having waited for, and beheld the destruction of the Phocians with as much indifference, if we may believe his adversary, as he would have seen the conclusion of any ordinary affair, which concerned merely his pecuniary interest, he repaired to Philip to receive the wages of his iniquity. Æschines accounts for his journey at this time by a more honourable but less probable cause, the desire of saving the feeble and unhappy remnant of the Phocian nation, who were persecuted to extre-

Philip protects the Phocians against the inhuman vengeance of their Grecian foes;

⁸³ Demosthen. et Æschin. de falsa Legat. sect. 20.

C H A P. mity by the barbarous vengeance of their Gre-
XXXV. cian foes, and protected, at the intercession of
 the Athenian orator, by the clemency or compassion of the Macedonians. There is reason to believe that Æschines, in order to gain merit with his countrymen, whose resentment he had so highly provoked, opposed an inhuman resolution of precipitating from rocks all those of the Phocians who had attained the age of puberty. But the King of Macedon, whose character was not naturally flagitious, or cruel without necessity, must, of his own accord, have been inclined to avert such an atrocious and bloody sentence, which would have ruined his fame, without promoting his interest.

and the
 Bœotians
 against the
 cruelty of
 Thebes.

This conclusion appears the more probable, since, we are assured, that, upon the same principle, but with far less success, he assumed the protection of the oppressed Bœotians. Orchomenus, Coronæ, Hyampolis, with other cities of less note in Bœotia, were, in consequence of the ruin of their Phocian allies, again subjected to the dominion of Thebes; a republic, always haughty and unrelenting, whose magistrates on this occasion prepared to treat the rebels with more than usual severity. Philip espoused the cause of the injured with a generous ardour, extremely disagreeable to the Thebans. His humanity, whether real or affected, was loudly extolled by his partisans in most republics of Greece. It redounded, however, more to his own glory, than to the benefit of the afflicted Bœotians; who, being expelled from their own

country by the intolerable oppression of Theban tyranny, sought refuge in the compassionate bosom of Athens.⁸⁴

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Having finished the sacred war in a manner so favourable to his own interest and ambition, Philip convened the members of the Amphictyonic council, to the number of two hundred, and assisted in the hymns, prayers, and sacrifices, offered to Apollo, in acknowledgement of his divine protection of their councils and arms. The name of the pious King of Macedon, who had been the principal instrument of their success, resounded in the sacred Pæans sung in honour of the God. The Amphictyons ratified all the transactions of that prince, erected his statue in the temple of Delphi, and acknowledged, by a solemn decree, the kingdom of Macedon as the principal member of the Hellenic body.⁸⁵ Philip at the same time appointed deputies to preside at the Pythian games, the celebration of which was nearly approaching, and to which most of the Grecian states had already sent their representatives. The Athenians, stung with indignation and regret, abstained from this festival. An embassy was therefore dispatched to them in the name of the Amphictyons, requiring their concurrence with measures recently embraced by the general council of Greece; and remonstrating against their displeasure at the aggrandisement of a prince with whom they had so lately contracted an alliance.

Macedon declared by the Amphictyons a member of the Hellenic body. Olymp. cviii. 3. A. C. 346.

⁸⁴ Demosthen. et Æschin. de falsa. sect. Legat. 20.

⁸⁵ Diodor. l. xvi. p. 60.

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Even the
Athenians
admit this
pretension.

The deliberations of the Athenian assembly, on this occasion, shewed the full extent of their own folly, and evinced the consummate policy of Philip. They acknowledged, with dejection and anguish, that they had neglected the many opportunities presented them by the favour of Heaven, for repressing the ambition of their rival; that the time of acting with vigour and boldness was now no more, that the cause of Greece was an empty name, since the Greeks surrendered their dignity to the King of Macedon; and that it became their own republic to consult rather its safety than its honour, and to maintain peace with a monarch against whom they were by no means prepared to wage war. Even Demosthenes^{**} recommended this resolution; lest, says he, we should offend those now assembled, who call themselves the Amphictyons, and thus excite a general war against ourselves. The Thebans, beside ancient causes of quarrel with us, are incensed at our harbouring their exiles; the Locrians and Thessalians resent our protecting the Phocians; the Argives, the Messenians and Megalopolitans, are displeased at our concurring with the views of Lacedæmon. If we refuse the demands of Philip and the Amphictyons, they may assault us with the combined arms of all those states, which we are totally unable to resist. One point, therefore, is necessary, the continuance of the present peace; not that it is so very excellent, or so worthy of you; but, of what kind soever it may be, it were more for the interest of

^{**} Demosthen. de Pace.

your affairs, that it never had been concluded, than that now, when it is concluded, you should infringe it. This opinion was universally approved: Macedon was acknowledged a member of the Grecian confederacy; and Isocrates, an Athenian of the highest merit and reputation, addressed a discourse to Philip, in which he exhorted him to disdain inglorious victories over his countrymen and friends, to employ his authority to extinguish for ever the animosities of Greece, and to direct the united efforts of that country, of which Macedon now formed a part, against the wealth and effeminacy of Persia, its ancient and natural enemy.⁸⁷

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Whether these exhortations proceeded from the virtuous simplicity which did not suspect, or from the insinuating and artful policy which, though it suspected, hoped to avert, the hostile projects⁸⁸ of Macedon, the measures of Philip were, doubtless, taken with too much care, and his plans founded too deep and firm, to be shaken by the specious eloquence of a rhetorician. He had long meditated the invasion of Asia: the conquest of the Persian empire was an object that might well tempt his ambition; but neither his own passions, nor the arguments of other men, could hasten, retard, or vary his undeviating progress in a system which could only be completed by consolidating his ancient, before he attempted new conquests.

⁸⁷ Isocrat. Orat. Philipp.

⁸⁸ See the life of Isocrates, prefixed to my translation of his works.

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Foundation of Philippopolis and Cabyla.—Philip's Expedition to Illyria. — Alexander receives the Persian Ambassadors. — Affairs of Greece. — Demosthenes unmasks the Designs of Philip's Expeditions to the Peloponnesus — to Epirus — to Thrace. — Diopetithes opposes him with Vigour. — The Athenians recover Eubœa. — Siege of Perinthus. — Philip's Letter to the Athenians. — Expeditions of Chares — of Phocion — who retrieves the Athenian Affairs in Thrace. — Philip's Scythian Expedition. — The Incendiary Antiphon. — Philip's Intrigues embroil the Affairs of Greece. — The third Sacred War. — Philip General of the Amphictyons. — Confederacy against that Prince. — He seizes Elatœa. — Battle of Chæronœa. — His Moderation in Victory. — Demosthenes's Oration in Honour of the Slain.

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Philip
evacuates
Greece;
Olymp.
cviii. 4.
A. C. 345.

FROM his intrigues, Philip had derived more important advantages than he could have gained by a long series of victories. The conquest of Greece was his object; he had taken many preliminary measures towards effecting this purpose; while his conduct, so far from exciting the jealousy of those fierce republics, acquired their admiration and gratitude. Instead of rousing the dangerous resentment of states which he was

ambitious to subdue, Philip disarmed the hostility of Athens, and threatened with the vengeance of combined Greece, the only republic that appeared forward to obstruct his designs. It seemed high time, therefore, to withdraw his army ; to set bounds, for the present, to his own triumphs ; nor to attempt, with danger, effecting by premature force, what might be safely accomplished by seasonable policy. Before evacuating Greece, he took care to place a strong garrison in Nicæa, which might thenceforth secure his free passage through the straits of Thermopylæ: Macedonian troops occupied the principal cities of Thessaly, and the strongest posts of Phocis. He conducted with him into Macedon eleven thousand Phocian captives; an acquisition which he regarded as not the least valuable fruits of his success ; and of which, on his return home, he determined immediately to avail himself.

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The warlike tribes of Thrace, though often vanquished, had never been thoroughly subdued. In order to bridle the dangerous fury of those northern barbarians, Philip built two cities, Philippopolis and Cabyla¹, the first at the western extremity of the country, on the confines of mount Rhodopé, the second towards the east, at the foot of mount Hæmus, about an hundred and fifty miles distant from each other, and almost equally remote from the Macedonian capital. The Phocian captives, blended with a

found
Philippo-
polis and
Cabyla ;

¹ Strabo, l. vii. p. 118.

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plants a
colony in
the isle of
Thasos.

due proportion of Macedonian subjects, well provided with arms for their defence, were sent to people and cultivate those new settlements, whose flourishing conditions soon exceeded the expectation of their founder. At the same time, Philip planted a colony in the isle of Thasos, which had formerly belonged to the Athenians; but that people having already lost possession of the gold mines at Philippi, on the neighbouring coast of Thrace, seemed now so indifferent about the possession of Thasos, that their transports were employed in conveying the Macedonians thither.²

His expe-
dition to
Illyria;
Olymp.
cix. 1.

A. C. 344.

In such occupations, chiefly, Philip employed the first year of the peace, not neglecting to complete the ornaments of his capital; for which purpose he borrowed, as formerly, large sums of money from the richest citizens of Greece. The year following he made an expedition into Illyria, and, at the expence of that country, extended his dominions from the lake Lychnidus to the Ionian sea. This district, about sixty miles in breadth, was barbarous and uncultivated, but contained valuable salt-mines, which had occasioned a bloody war between two neighbouring tribes. While Philip was absent in Illyria, an embassy arrived from Ochus, King of Persia, who, alarmed by the magnificent reports of the growing greatness of Macedonia, sent the most trusty of his ministers, that, under pretence of offering to Philip the friendship and alliance of the Great King, they might examine

² Demosth. de Haloneso.

with their own eyes the strength and resources of a monarch, which were represented as so formidable.

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In the absence of his father, the young Alexander did the honours of the court; and it is said, that, during an entertainment given to the Persian ambassadors, the prince, who had not yet reached his twelfth year, discovered such manly and premature wisdom, as already announced the dawn of a very extraordinary character.³ Among other questions, that could not have been expected from his age, he inquired into the nature of the Persian government, and art of war; the genius and disposition of the reigning sovereign; the distance of his capital from the coast, and the difficulty of the intervening roads.⁴ Such inquiries, whatever talents they announced in the young prince, seem to prove that the conquest of Persia had been a frequent subject of conversation between Alexander and his instructors; and that an unbounded ambition had already taken possession of his youthful mind. The ambassadors heard him with astonishment, and exclaimed with that freedom

during which his son Alexander receives the Persian ambassadors.

³ Plutarch (in Alexand.) expresses himself strongly on this subject: "ὥτε ἐκεῖνοι (the ambassadors) θαυμάζουσιν, καὶ τὴν λεγομένην Φιλίππου δεινότητα μὴδεν ἡγεῖσθαι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ παιδὸς ὁρμὴν καὶ μεγαλοπραγμοσύνην." — Read *μεγαλοψυχίαν*, and then the sentence may be literally explained: "So the ambassadors wondered, and thought nothing of the famed abilities of Philip, compared with the spirit and magnanimity of his son." I recollect not having met with *μεγαλοπραγμοσύνη* in the writers of the Socratic age; but it is a good word to mark the character of a person "who busies himself about great objects."

⁴ Plut. in Alexand.

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which so wonderfully distinguishes the public transactions of ancient, from those of modern times, "Ours is a rich and powerful, but this will be truly a wise and great King."⁵

Philip's
transac-
tions in
Thessaly,
Eubœa,
and Me-
gara.
Olymp.
cix. 1.
A. C. 344.

Philip had no sooner returned from Illyria, than he made an excursion to Thessaly, and finally settled the affairs of that distracted country; having taken on himself the whole management of the revenue, and having divided the territory into four separate governments, in order to weaken the force of opposition, and to render the whole province more patient and submissive under the dominion of Macedon.⁶ While Philip was thus employed in Thessaly, his agents were not less active in confirming the Macedonian authority in the isle of Eubœa. Nor was he satisfied with securing his former acquisitions; he aspired at new conquests. The barren and rocky territory of Megara divided, by an extent of only ten miles, the frontier of Bœotia from the isthmus of Corinth. The industrious and frugal simplicity of this little republic could not defend its virtue against the corrupt influence of the Macedonian.⁷ Philip gained a party at Megara, which he cultivated with peculiar care; because, being already master of Bœotia, Phocis, and

⁵ I have used a little freedom with the words of Plutarch, *ὅς δ' αὖτος ὅτος βασιλεὺς μέγας δ' ὁ δὲ ἡμετέρος πλεονας*. Plut. Orat. ii. de Fortun. Alexand.

⁶ Demosth. Philipp. iii.

⁷ Demosth. de falsa Legatione, & Philipp. iii. In Philipp. iv. he speaks as if Philip had made some open attempt against Megara, in which he had failed: *ταύτης* (scil. *Ευβοίας*) *ολιγωρευμένης*, *Μεγάρα ἐάλω παραμικρον*, p. 54.

Thessaly, the narrow territory of the Megarians formed the chief obstacle to his free passage into the Peloponnesus, the affairs of which, at this juncture, particularly attracted his regard.

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The Lacedæmonians, repulsed by Philip, whom they had condescended to solicit, rejected by the Phocians, whom they offered to assist, and having lost all hopes of obtaining the guardianship of the Delphic temple, totally deserted a scene of action, in which they could expect neither profit nor honour, and confined their politics and their arms within the narrow circle of their own peninsula. For almost two years, Archidamus had laboured with undivided attention, and with his usual address and activity, to extend the pretensions and the power of Sparta over the territories of Messenê, Argos, and Arcadia. His measures, planned with prudence, and conducted with vigour, were attended with success, though the inhabitants of the dependent provinces bore with much regret and indignation the yoke of a republic which they had formerly spurned as oppressive and intolerable. Their murmurs and discontents were inflamed into hostility by the Thebans, eternal enemies to Sparta, and at that time closely allied with the King of Macedon. To this monarch the Thebans applied, requesting him not to permit the destruction of their confederates in the Peloponnesus. The intrigues and money of Philip had already gained him a considerable influence in that country, which he was glad of

Philip prepares to protect the inferior communities of the Peloponnesus against the oppressions of Sparta.

C H A P. an opportunity to augment. To justify his proceedings for this purpose, he procured a decree of the Amphictyonic council, requiring him to check the insolence of Sparta, and to protect the defenceless communities which had so often been the victims of her tyranny and cruelty. Encouraged by this resolution of the Amphictyons, and impelled by his own ambition, Philip sent troops and money into the Peloponnesus, and prepared to march thither in person, at the head of a powerful army.⁸

The Corinthians prepare to interrupt his march.

These transactions excited new commotions and alarms throughout most countries of Greece. The Corinthians⁹, jealous of the power of a prince, who, at the close of the Phocian war, deprived them of their ancient prerogatives and honours, and who, still more recently, had taken possession of Leucas, a city in Acarnania, and of Ambracia in Epirus, both colonies of Corinth, determined to oppose his passage into the Peloponnesus. Weapons and defensive armour were provided, the walls and fortifications were repaired, mercenary troops were levied, the citizens exercised in arms, the whole republic glowed with the ardour of military preparation; inso-much that Diogenes the Cynic, who lost no opportunity to deride the follies of his contemporaries, beholding with just contempt the hurry and vain bustle of the effeminate Corinthians, that seemed so ill calculated to contend with the active vigour of Philip, began to

⁸ Demosth. de Pace.

⁹ Lucian de Conscribend. Histor.

roll about his tub ¹⁰, lest he should be the only person unemployed in so busy a city.

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Negocia-
tions in
Athens.

The Lacedæmonians, meanwhile, not less alarmed, but always better prepared for war, solicited the assistance of Athens. The latter state had received a considerable accession of strength, as well as of just honour and respect, from its hospitable reception of the distressed exiles from Phocis and Bœotia. It derived new consideration and lustre from the general congress of ambassadors from Sparta, Thebes, Macedon, Argos, Messenê, and Arcadia, who, after a long interval of time, again condescended to assert their respective claims before the Athenian assembly. The Lacedæmonians represented the league, formed against themselves, as alike dangerous to Athens and to Sparta; that the ambition of Philip would not rest satisfied with a partial conquest; his imagination already grasped the dominion of Greece; and now was the only time for the two leading republics, who had ever mutually assisted each other in seasons of calamity, to make a firm stand, and to exert their utmost vigour in defence of their own and the public safety, so shamefully abandoned by the Thebans, and by the mob of Peloponnesus. ¹¹ The Thebans joined with the ministers of Philip in exhorting the Athenians to adhere strictly to

¹⁰ Auct. apud Brucker. in Vit. Diogen. He has collected all that is written for and against the tub of Diogenes. Were authors less explicit, the moveable habitation of this philosopher would be sufficiently attested by ancient monuments. See Winckelman, d'Hancarville, &c.

¹¹ Οχλος Πελοποννησος. Isocrat. in Archidam.

CHAP. their treaty of peace recently concluded with that
XXXVI. prince ; they endeavoured, by art and sophistry, to varnish or to palliate such deeds of fraud or violence as could not be altogether denied ; and laboured with the utmost assiduity to separate the views and interests of Athens and Lacedæmon on this important emergency. The ambassadors of the inferior states of Peloponnesus loudly complained, that the Athenians, who affected to be the patrons of liberty, should favour the views of Sparta, which had so long been the scourge of Greece. They represented this conduct as not only unjust and cruel, but contradictory and absurd ; and used many plausible arguments to deter the people of Athens, who still strenuously asserted the freedom of Bœotia, from taking such a part in the present quarrel as might tend to rivet the chains of Peloponnesus.

Artful representations of the Macedonian partisans in Athens.

The Athenian orators, many of them creatures of Philip, charged their countrymen not to break hastily with a prince with whom they had so recently concluded an alliance, nor imprudently renew a bloody and destructive war, out of which they had been lately extricated with so much difficulty. They observed, that although the measures of Philip, since the conclusion of the peace, had indeed been more agreeable to the Thebans than to the Athenians, he had considered himself as bound in justice to chastise the sacrilege of the Phocians. Nor was he altogether at liberty to follow his own inclinations ; surrounded by the Thessalian cavalry and the The-

ban infantry, he was compelled to treat the enemies of those states with a severity which his own feelings disapproved. But the time had arrived, when he might act with more independence and dignity ; and that, could any credit be given to report, he was already preparing to rebuild the ruined cities of Phocis, and to fortify Elatæa, on the frontier of that territory, by which means he might thenceforth restrain and bridle the insolent cruelty of Thebes. These observations, however improbable, received great force from the peaceful, or rather indolent disposition of the people, who, though they heard with pleasure those who magnified their ancient grandeur, and inveighed against the injustice and ambition of Philip, were averse to employ either their money, or their personal service, in such active measures as could alone set bounds to the Macedonian encroachments.'

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Demosthenes, last, arose, and pronounced a discourse, which the King of Macedon is said to have read with a mixture of terror and admiration.¹² " When you hear described, men of Athens ! the continual hostilities by which Philip violates the peace, I observe that you approve the equity and patriotism of those who support the rights of the republic : but while nothing is done on account of which it is worth while to listen to such speeches, our affairs are brought to such a pass, that the more clearly we convict Philip of perfidy towards you, and of hostile de-

Answered
by Democ-
thenes.

¹² Plut. in Vit. Demosth. in lib. de Dec. Orator.

C H A P. signs against Greece, the more difficult it is to
 XXXVI. propose any seasonable advice. The cause of
 this difficulty is, that the encroachments of ambition must be repelled, not by words but by deeds. If speeches and reasoning sufficed, we should long ere now have prevailed over our adversary. But Philip excels in actions as much as we do in arguments; and both of us obtain the superiority in what forms respectively the chief object of our study and concern; we in our assemblies, Philip in the field.

He explains the measures, and points out the dangerous designs, of Philip.

“Immediately after the peace, the King of Macedon became master of Phocis and Thermopylæ, and made such an use of these acquisitions as suited the interest of *Thebes*, not of *Athens*. Upon what principle did he act thus? Because, governed in all his proceedings, not by the love of peace or justice, but by an insatiable lust of power, he saw the impossibility of bending the Athenians to his selfish and tyrannical purposes. He knew that the loftiness of their character would never stoop to private considerations, but prefer to any advantage that he might offer them, the dictates of justice and of honour; and that neither their penetration, nor their dignity, could ever be prevailed on to sacrifice to a partial and temporary interest, the general safety of Greece; but that they would fight for each member of the confederacy with the same zeal as for their own walls. The Thebans he judged (and he judged aright) to be more assailable; he knew their folly and their meanness to be such, that provided he heaped benefits on themselves, they would assist him to enslave their

neighbours. Upon the same principle he now cultivates, in preference to yours, the friendship of the Messenians and Argives; a circumstance, Athenians! which highly redounds to your honour, since Philip thus declares his persuasion, that you alone have penetration to discern, and virtue to oppose, his designs; that you foresee the drift of all his negociations and wars, and are determined to be the incorruptible defenders of the common cause. Nor is it without good grounds that he entertains such an honourable opinion of you, and the contrary of the Thebans and Argives. When the liberties of Greece were threatened by Persia, as they now are by Macedon, the Thebans basely followed the standard of the invaders; the Argives did not oppose their arms; while the magnanimous patriots, from whom you are descended, spurned offers, highly advantageous, made them by Alexander of Macedon, the ancestor of Philip, who acted as the ambassador of Persia; and, preferring the public interest to their own, provoked the devastation of their territory, and the destruction of their capital, and performed in defence of Greece, those unrivalled exploits of heroism which can never be celebrated with due praise. For such reasons, Philip chooses for his allies, Thebes, Argos, and Messené, rather than Athens and Sparta. The former states possess not greater resources in money, fleets, harbours, and armies; they have not more *strength*, but less *virtue*. Nor can Philip plead the justice of their cause; since, if Chæronæa and Orchomenus are justly subject to Thebes, Argos and

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C H A P. Messené are justly subject to Lacedæmon ; nor
XXXVI. could it be equitable to enslave the inferior cities
 of Bœotia, and at the same time to teach those of
 Peloponnesus to rebel.

“ But Philip was compelled to this conduct (for this is the only remaining argument that can be alleged in his defence). ‘ Surrounded by the Thessalian cavalry and Theban infantry, he was obliged to assist allies whom he distrusted, and to concur with measures which he disapproved. Hence the severe treatment of Phocis, hence the cruel servitude of Orchomenus and Chæronæa. The King of Macedon, being now at liberty to consult the dictates of his own humanity and justice, is desirous to re-establish the republic of Phocis ; and, in order to bridle the insolence of Thebes, actually meditates the fortifying of Elatæa.’ This, indeed, he meditates, and will meditate long. But he does not *meditate* the destruction of Lacedæmon. For this purpose he has remitted money, he has sent his mercenaries, he is prepared, himself, to march at the head of a powerful army. His present transactions sufficiently explain the motives of his past conduct. It is evident that he acts from system, and that his principal batteries are erected against Athens itself. How can it be otherwise ? He is ambitious to rule Greece ; you alone are able to thwart his measures. He has long treated you unworthily ; and he is conscious of his injustice. He is actually contriving your destruction, and he is sensible that you see through his designs. For all these reasons he knows that you detest him, and that, should he

not anticipate your hostility, he must fall a victim to your just vengeance. Hence he is ever active and alert, watching a favourable moment of assault, and practising on the stupidity and selfishness of the Thebans and Peloponnesians; for if they were not stupid and blind, they might perceive the fatal aim of the Macedonian policy. I once spoke¹³ on this subject before the Messenians and Argives; my discourse, which was then useless, may now be repeated most seasonably. ‘Men of Argos and Messenê! you remember the time when Philip caressed the Olynthians, as he now does you: how highly, do you think, that infatuated people would have been offended, had any man talked against the benefactor, who had generously bestowed on them Anthemus and Potidæa? Had any man warned them against the dangerous artifices of Philip, would they have listened to his advice? Yet, after enjoying for a moment the territory of their neighbours, they were for ever despoiled of their own. Inglorious was their fall; not conquered only, but betrayed and sold by each other. Turn your eyes to the Thessalians. When Philip expelled their tyrants, could the Thessalians ever conjecture that the same prince would subject them to the creatures of Macedon, still more tyrannical and oppressive? When he restored them to their seat and suffrage in the Amphictyonic council, could they have been persuaded that he would one day deprive them of the management of their own revenues? As to you,

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¹³ During his embassy to Peloponnesus, mentioned above.

C H A P. Messenians and Argives! you have beheld Philip
XXXVI. smiling and deceiving; but, beware! pray to
 Heaven, that you may never behold him insulting, threatening, and destroying. Various are the contrivances which communities have discovered for their defence; walls, ramparts, battlements, all of which are raised by the labour of man, and supported by continual expence and toil. But there is one common bulwark, which only the prudent employ, though alike useful to all, especially to free cities against tyrants. What is that? Distrust. Of this be mindful; to this adhere; preserve this carefully, and no calamity can befall you.'"¹⁴

Impeachment of
 Æschines
 and Philocrates.

Demosthenes then read to the assembly the schedule of an answer, which he advised to be given to the ambassadors, and which was entirely favourable to the Lacedæmonians. At the same time he beseeched his countrymen to deliberate with firmness, yet with temper, on the means by which they might resist the common enemy; "an enemy with whom he had exhorted them to maintain peace, as long as *that* seemed possible; but peace was no longer in their power; Philip gradually carried on a vast system of hostile ambition, dismembering their possessions, debauching their allies, paring their dominions all around, that he might at length attack the centre, unguarded and defenceless." Had the orator stopped here, his advice might have been followed with some useful consequences. But in declaiming against the encroachments of Macedon, his resentment was naturally

¹⁴ Demosthen. Orat. ii. in Philipp.

inflamed against Philocrates, Æschines, and their associates, whose perfidious machinations had produced the public danger and disgrace. He strongly recommended to the injured people to impeach, condemn, and consign to due punishment those detestable traitors. This counsel was not given in vain to the litigious Athenians, who were better pleased to attend the courts of justice at home than to march into the Peloponnesus. The city resounded with the noise of trials and accusations. Philocrates was banished¹⁵, and Æschines narrowly escaped the same fate, by exposing the profligate life of his accuser Timarchus.¹⁶

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Philip, meanwhile, unopposed and unobserved by his enemies, was sailing with a powerful armament towards Cape Tenarus, the most southern promontory of Laconia. Having landed there without opposition, he was joined by the Messenians, Arcadians, and Argives. The united army, after ravaging the most valuable part of the Lacedæmonian territories, besieged and took Trinasus, a maritime city of considerable strength and importance. The terror occasioned among the Spartans by these misfortunes was heightened by extraordinary meteors in the air, whose unusual redness seemed to presage some dreadful calamity.¹⁷ The alarm was so general, that it has been thought worth while to record the saying of a Spartan youth, who remained unmoved

Philip settles the affairs of the Peloponnesus.

¹⁵ Æschin. in Ctesiphon.

¹⁶ Argum. in Æschin. Orat. in Timarch.

¹⁷ Plin. Hist. Nat. l. ii. c. 36.

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amidst the public consternation. Being asked, "Whether he was not afraid of Philip?"—"Why," replied the generous youth, "should I fear him; he cannot hinder me from dying for my country."¹⁸ But this manly resolution no longer animated the great body of the Spartan nation. Unable to meet the invader in the field, they sent Agis, the son of King Archidamus, to propose terms of accommodation, or rather to submit their whole fortune to the disposal of the Macedonians. The young prince coming alone and unattended, Philip expressed his surprise. "What, have the Spartans sent but one!"—"Am I not sent to one?" was the manly reply of Agis.¹⁹ This was the expiring voice of Spartan pride; for the King of Macedon, though averse to provoke the despair of a people, whose slumbering virtue might yet be re-animated by the institutions of Lycurgus and the example of Leonidas, compelled them to resign their pretended authority over Argos, Messenê, and Arcadia; and settled the boundaries of those republics in a manner highly agreeable to the wishes of his confederates. Before leaving the Peloponnesus, he solemnly renewed his engagements to protect them; and, in return, only required, on their part, that the magistracy in Argos should be entrusted to Myrtis, Teledamus, and Mnasia; in Arcadia, to Cercidas, Hieronymus, and Eucampidas; in Messenê, to Neon and Thrasylochus, the sons of Iphiades; men whose names would merit eternal oblivion, if

¹⁸ Frontin. l. iv. c. 5.¹⁹ Plut. Apophth.

Demosthenes justly branded them as traitors²⁰; but, a more impartial, and not less judicious writer²¹, asserts, that by early espousing the interest of Philip, they acquired many important advantages for their respective communities; that their sagacity having foreseen the final prevalence of the Macedonian power and policy over the weakness and folly of Greece, they acted wisely in courting the rising fortune of a prince, who was, at length, enabled to take complete vengeance on his enemies; a vengeance which the Peloponnesians escaped by their own prudence and foresight, and from which the Athenians, after long provoking it, were finally delivered by the love of glory and magnanimity, which regulated the conduct, and adorned the victory, of Philip.

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Having settled the affairs of Peloponnesus, the King of Macedon marched through that country amidst the acclamations of the people, who vied with each other in bestowing crowns and statues, the usual marks of public gratitude and admiration, on a prince who had generously rescued them from the cruel yoke of Sparta. At Corinth, he passed some days in the house of Demaratus, a man totally devoted to his service; and assisted at the games and showey festivals, which were celebrated in that city, by an immense concourse of people from the

Philip publicly insulted at Corinth;

²⁰ Παρά γὰρ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, οἱ τισί, ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως, φέρον προδοτὰν καὶ δωροδοκῶν καὶ θεοὺς ἐχθρῶν ἀνθρώπων, συνέθεθ' γενέσθαι, ὅσην οὐδεὶς τῶν προτέρων μνησθῆναι γέγονεν. These traitors are named in Philipp. iii. & in Orat. de Corona.

²¹ Polyb. iii. 72.

C H A P. XXXVI. { neighbouring republics. The turbulent Corinthians, who, besides their innate hatred of kings, had particular causes of animosity against Philip, did not conceal their sentiments; and their inhospitable insolence was abetted by many Peloponnesians, who profited of the liberty of the place, and of the occasion, to testify their rooted aversion to the King of Macedon, and their unwillingness to owe their freedom and their safety to the interposition of a foreign tyrant. Philip was strongly urged by his courtiers to punish their ingratitude; but he knew how to digest an affront²², when forgiveness was more useful than vengeance; and repressed the unseasonable indignation of his attendants by observing, with admirable patience, "Were I to act with *severity*, what must I expect from men, who repay even *kindness* with insult?"²³

his moderation.

Philip extends the boundaries of Epirus, and seizes the Halonnesus, Olymp. cix. 1. A. C. 344.

Philip proceeded from Corinth by the nearest route into Macedon, where he continued the remainder of that year, directing the improvements that were carrying on in his kingdom, and inspecting with particular care the education of his son Alexander, whose capacious and fervid mind, like a rich and luxuriant soil, producing promiscuously flowers and weeds, strongly required the hand of early²⁴ culture. But these useful occupations did not divert his attention from the politics of neighbouring states. He extended the boundaries of Epirus,

²² Longinus has preserved the expression of Theopompus, "that Philip could easily swallow affronts."

²³ Plut. in Alexand.

²⁴ Plut. *ibid*.

then governed by his brother-in-law Alexander, the most faithful and devoted of his vassals, by adding to that little principality the province of Cassiopæa, which was chiefly inhabited by Elian colonies. At the same time he exercised his fleet by wresting Halonnesus, an island near the coast of Thessaly, from the hands of corsairs, and kept possession of his conquest, without paying any regard to the claim of Athens, its ancient and legitimate sovereign.²⁵

Next year Philip was summoned into Upper Thrace by a rebellion of the petty princes in that country, fomented by Amadocus King of the Odrysians. The warlike tribes of that great nation, acting with little concert or union, were successively subdued; and the dexterity of the King of Macedon seconding his usual good fortune, he soon ranked the most obstinate of his enemies in the number of his vassals or courtiers.²⁶ At his return from the inhospitable wilds of Thrace, he received into his protection the city and republic of Cardia, occupying the neck of land which joins the Thracian Chersonesus to the continent. The rest of the peninsula had long been subject to the Athenians, whose authority the citizens of Cardia always set at defiance. The Athenians had lately strengthened the Chersonesites by a new colony, which had continual disputes with the Cardians about the extent of their boundaries. Matters had actually come to a crisis, and the Cardians were ready to be overwhelmed by the strength

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Settles the
commo-
tions in
Thrace,
and pro-
tects the
Cardians.
Olymp.
cix. 2.
A. C. 343.

²⁵ Demosth. Orat. de Halon.

²⁶ Diodor. l. xvi. p. 464.

C H A P. and numbers of the enemy, when they were seasonably defended by the Macedonian arms.²⁷
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These measures rouse the Athenians from their lethargy.

The seizing of Halonnesus, the conquering of Grecian colonies for the tyrant of Epirus, above all, the open assistance given to their inveterate enemies, the Cardians, once more roused the Athenians from their lethargy. These fresh insults brought back to their recollection the ancient grounds of animosity, and the manifold injuries which they had suffered since the conclusion of the peace with Macedon. But instead of opposing Philip with arms, the only means by which he might yet be resisted with any hope of success, they employed the impotent defence of speeches, resolutions, and embassies. Their complaints were loud and violent in every country of Greece. They called the attention of the whole confederacy to the formidable encroachments of a Barbarian, to which there seemed no end; and exhorted the Greeks to unite in repressing his insolent usurpation.²⁸

Philip dispatches Python of Byzantium with a letter to that people.

Philip, who then agitated schemes from which he wished not to be diverted by a war with the Athenians, sent proper agents throughout Greece, to counteract the inflammatory remonstrances of that people; and dispatched to Athens itself, Python of Byzantium, a man of a daring and vigorous mind; but who concealed, under that passionate vehemence of language which seems to arise from conviction and sin-

²⁷ Demosthen. Orat. de Halon. p. 34. et Plut. in Vit. Eumen.

²⁸ Demosthen. de Chersoneso, p. 35. et seq.

cerity, a mercenary spirit, and a perfidious heart. Python had long ago sold himself, and as far as depended on himself, the interests of his country, to the King of Macedon, from whom he now conveyed a letter to the senate and people of Athens, written with that specious moderation and artful plausibility, which Philip knew so well to assume in all his transactions. “ He offered to make a present to the Athenians of the island of Halonnesus, and invited them to join with him in purging the sea of pirates : he intreated them to refer to impartial arbitrators all the differences that had long subsisted between the two states, and to concert amicably together such commercial regulations as would tend greatly to the advantage of both. He denied that they could produce any proof of that duplicity on his part, of which they so loudly complained. That for himself, he was ready not only to terminate all disputes with them by a fair arbitration, but to compel the Cardians to abide by the award ; and he concluded, by exhorting them to distrust those designing and turbulent demagogues, whose selfish ambition longed to embroil the two countries, and involve them in the horrors of war.” ²⁹

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Its contents.

The subtle artifices of Philip, though supported on this occasion by the impetuous eloquence of Python, were overcome by Hegesippus and Demosthenes, who refuted the various articles of the letter with great strength and perspicuity, and unveiled the injustice of Philip with such

Diopet-
thes, the
Athenian
general in
Thrace,
acts rigor-
ously
against
Philip.

²⁹ Demosthen. seu Hegesipp. de Halon. p. 33. et seq.

C H A P. force of evidence, that the Athenians resolved
XXXVI. upon sending a considerable armament to the
 Chersonesus, to protect the subjects in that peninsula.³⁰ Diopeithes, who commanded the expedition, was a determined enemy to the Macedonians, and a man of courage and enterprise. Before he arrived in the Chersonesus, Philip, trusting to the effect of his letter and intrigues, had returned into Upper Thrace. Diopeithes availed himself of this opportunity to act with vigour. Having provided for the defence of the Athenian settlements in Thrace, he made an incursion into the neighbouring country; stormed the Macedonian settlements at Crobylé and Tiristasis; and having carried off many prisoners, and a considerable booty, lodged them in the safe retreat of the Chersonesus. On this emergency, Amphilochnus, a Macedonian of rank, was sent as ambassador, to treat of the ransom of prisoners; but Diopeithes, regardless of this character, ever held sacred in Greece, cast him in prison, the more surely to widen the breach between Athens and Macedon; and, if possible, to render it irreparable. With equal severity he treated a herald, whom he had taken in his late excursion, charged with letters from Philip; which were sent to Athens, and read in full assembly.³¹

The partisans of Philip ca-

The King of Macedon, when informed of these hostilities and insults, gave free scope to his com-

³⁰ Demosthen. seu Hegesipp. de Halon. p. 33. et seq.

³¹ Epistol. Philipp. et Liban. Argum. in Demosthen. Orat de Chersoneso.

plaints and threats; and his emissaries had an easier game at Athens, as Diopeithes had not only violated the peace with Macedon, but, in order to maintain his troops, which were very sparingly supplied by the republic, levied considerable contributions from the Greek settlements in Asia. The partisans of Macedon inveighed against this commander as a robber and pirate, the common enemy of Greeks and Barbarians; Philip's letters demanded vengeance from the justice of Athens; if not, he would be his own avenger: the personal enemies of Diopeithes joined in the outcry, and insisted, that such a daring offender ought immediately to be recalled, and severely punished.³²

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bal to ruin
Diopei-
thes.

On this occasion Demosthenes undertook to defend the accused general, whose measures he warmly approved; and motives of private friendship heightening the ardour of patriotism, rank his discourse on the affairs of the Chersonesus among the most animated and interesting of his productions. The impeachment of Diopeithes he ascribes entirely to malice or perfidy, which had been too successfully employed to withdraw the attention of the Athenians from the main object of their concern, the continual encroachments of Philip, to unjust complaints and calumnies against their fellow-citizen. Diopeithes, if really in fault, might be brought home to answer for it whenever they thought proper. A simple mandate from the republic could, at any time, reduce *him* to his duty. But

He is
powerfully
defended
by Demos-
thenes.

³² Demosthen. Orat. de Chersoneso.

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Philip, the public enemy, who was continually infringing the peace, who, antecedently to the expedition of Diopethes, had oppressed the Chersonesites, had stormed Serrium and Doriscus, how was Philip to be restrained, unless they repelled force by force? Instead of recalling their troops from the Chersonesus on the remonstrance of a crafty tyrant, who would not acknowledge himself at war with them, till he assaulted the walls of Athens, they ought to exert their utmost ability in augmenting the army in that quarter. Should their forces be withdrawn, Philip would wait the approach of winter, or the setting in of the Etesian winds, to fall on the Chersonesus. Will it then be sufficient to accuse Diopethes? Or will this save our allies? "O, but we will sail to their relief." But if the winds will not permit you? Even should our enemy attack, not the Chersonesus, but Megara or Chalcis, as he lately did Oreum, would it not be better to oppose him in Thrace, than to attract the war to the frontiers of Attica? The exactions demanded by Diopethes from the Asiatic Greeks are justified by the example of all his predecessors, who, according to the strength of their respective armaments, have always levied proportional contributions from the colonies; and the people who grant this money, whether more or less, do not give it for nothing. It is the price for which they are furnished with convoys to protect their trading vessels from rapine and piracy. If Diopethes employed not that resource, how could he subsist his troops, he

who receives nothing from you, and who has nothing of his own? From the skies? No; but from what he can collect, and beg, and borrow. Who does not perceive that this pretended concern for the colonies, in men who have no concern for their country, is one of the many artifices employed to confine and fix you to the city, while the enemy keeps the field, and manages the war at pleasure? That such traitors should exist, is less surprising than that you should patiently receive from them such counsels as Philip himself would dictate. For what else could the King of Macedon, who understands his own interest so well, advise, but that you should remain quietly at home, decline personal service in the war, deny pay to your soldiers, revile and insult your general? When a man, hired to betray you, rises up in the assembly, and declares Chares or Diopeithes to be the cause of your calamities, such an hypocrite is heard with satisfaction. You despise the voice of him, who, animated by a sincere love for his country, calls out, "Be not deceived, Athenians! Philip is the real cause of all your misfortunes and disgrace." The disagreeable truth renders the man who declares it odious; for the insidious discipline of certain ministers has so changed your principles and characters, that you are become fierce and formidable in your courts of justice, but tame and contemptible in the field. You rejoice, therefore, to hear your distress charged on those whom you can punish at home; but are unwilling to believe that it proceeds from a public enemy, whom you

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must oppose with arms in your hands. Yet, Athenians, if the states of Greece should thus call you to account for your conduct: "Men of Athens, you are continually sending embassies to assure us, that Philip is projecting *our* ruin, and *that* of all the Greeks. But O, most wretched of mankind! when this common foe was detained six months abroad by sickness, the severity of winter, and the armies of his enemies, did you profit by that opportunity to recover your lost possessions? Did you restore even Eubœa to liberty, and expel those troops and tyrants who had been placed there in ambush, and directly opposite to Attica? No. You have remained insensible to your wrongs, and fully convinced us, that were Philip ten times to die, it would not inspire you with the least degree of vigour. Why then these embassies, these accusations, all this unnecessary ferment!" If the Greeks should ask this, what could we answer? I know not.

"There are men who think to perplex a well-intentioned speaker by asking, What ought we to do? My answer is sincere, None of those things which you do at present. I explain my opinion at greater length, and may you be as ready to receive, as to ask, advice! First of all, you must hold it as a matter of firm belief, that Philip has broken the peace, and is at war with your republic: that he is an enemy to your city, to the ground on which it stands, to all those who inhabit it, and not least to such as are now most distinguished by his favours.

The fate of Euthycrates and Lasthenes³³, citizens of Olynthus, may teach *our* traitors the destruction that awaits them, after they have surrendered their country. But, though an enemy to your city, your soil, and your people, Philip is chiefly hostile to your government, which, though ill fitted to acquire, or to maintain, dominion over others, is admirably adapted to defend both yourselves and them, to repel usurpation, and to humble tyrants. To your democracy, therefore, Philip is an unrelenting foe, a truth, of which you ought to be deeply persuaded; and next, that wherever you repress his encroachments, you act for the safety of Athens, against which, chiefly, all his batteries are erected. For who can be so foolish as to believe, that the cottages of Thrace (Drongila, Cabyla, and Mastira), should form an object worthy of his ambition; that, in order to acquire them, he should submit to toils and dangers; that, for the sake of the rye and millet of Thrace, he should consent to spend so many months amidst winter snows and blasting tempests; while, at the same time, he disregarded the riches and splendor of Athens; your harbours, arsenals, gallies, mines, and revenues? No, Athenians! It is to get possession of Athens, that he makes war in Thrace and elsewhere. What then ought we to do? Tear ourselves from our indolence; not only sustain, but augment, the troops which are on foot; that,

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³³ See above, c. xxxv.

C H A P. as Philip has an army ever ready to attack and
 XXXVI. conquer the Greeks, you also may be ready to
 succour and to save them.”³⁴

Demosthenes
 ventures
 not to
 propose
 the war in
 form.

It is worthy of observation (because nothing betrays more evidently the tyrannical spirit of democracy), that Demosthenes does not propose the war in form, by bringing in a written bill or decree, to be approved or rejected by the votes of his countrymen. This decree must have been deposited among the Athenian archives; and, if the war should prove unfortunate, might be produced at some future time for the destruction of its author, whose enemies would not fail to allege this instrument as a proof that he had occasioned the rupture with Philip, and all the calamities consequent on that measure. The party accused would, in that case, vainly endeavour to shelter himself under the votes of the assembly, since an ordinary court of justice could call him to account for misleading the people³⁵, and punish him with banishment or death. Demosthenes artfully glances at this disagreeable subject: “Rash, impudent, and audacious, I neither am, Athenians! nor wish ever to become; yet am I actuated by more true fortitude than the boldest of your demagogues, who, capriciously distributing honours and largesses on the one hand, and as capriciously impeaching, condemning, and confiscating on the other, have, in either case, a

³⁴ Demosthen. Orat. de Chersones. p. 35. et seq.

³⁵ By the *γραφη παρανομων*. Vide Demosth. de Coron. passim.

sure pledge of impunity in the flattery and artifices by which they have long seduced the public. The courage of that minister is put to an easy trial, who is ever ready to sacrifice your permanent interest to your present gratification. But he is truly courageous, who, for the sake of your safety and glory, opposes your most favourite inclinations, rouses you from your dream of pleasure, disdains to flatter you, and, having the good of his country ever in view, assumes that post in the administration in which fortune often prevails over policy, knowing himself responsible for the issue. Such a minister am I, whose unpopular counsels are calculated to render, not myself, but my country great."

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These arguments and remonstrances of Demosthenes not only saved Diopithes, but animated the Athenians with a degree of ³⁶ vigour which they had been long unaccustomed to exert. A fleet was fitted out under the command of Callias, who seized all Macedonian ships as lawful prize, and made a descent on the coast of Thessaly, after plundering the harbours in the Pelasgic gulph. A considerable body of forces was sent into Acarnania to repel the incursions of Philip, abetted by his kinsman and ally, Alexander of Epirus. The inhabitants of the island of Peræthus, trusting to the protection of Athens, expelled the Macedonian garrison from Halonnesus. Repeated embassies were dispatched to the Peloponnesians and Eubœans, exhorting them

The Athenians oppose the common enemy with spirit by sea and land.

³⁶ Vid. Epist. Philip.

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Philip at-
tempts to
get posses-
sion of By-
zantium
and Pe-
rinthus.
Olymp.
cix. 8.
A. C. 342.

to throw off the ignominious yoke of Macedon, and to unite with their Grecian brethren against the public enemy. Philip was not unattentive to these commotions, but his designs against the valuable cities on the Propontis and Thracian Bosphorus ³⁷ being ripe for execution, he was unwilling to allow any secondary consideration to divert him from that important enterprise.

His intrigues and bribery had gained a considerable party in Byzantium, at the head of which was the perfidious Python, whose vehement eloquence gave him great influence with the multitude. A conspiracy was formed to surrender one of the gates of the city; the Macedonian army of thirty thousand men hovered round; but the design was suspected or discovered, and Philip, to screen his partisans from public vengeance, seasonably withdrew his army, and invested the neighbouring city of Perinthus. The news of these transactions not only increased the activity of Athens, but alarmed Ochus King of Persia, who being no stranger to Philip's design of invading his dominions, trembled at beholding that ambitious prince gradually approach his frontier. To remove this danger, Ochus adopted the same policy, which, in similar circumstances, had been successfully employed by his predecessors. ³⁸ The Persian gold was profusely scattered among the most eminent of the Grecian demagogues. Demosthenes, whose patriotism was not always proof

³⁷ Demosth. de Coron. et Diodor. l. xvi. c. 22.

³⁸ Plut. in Alexand.

against an unworthy alliance³⁹ with interest, rejoiced at being paid for doing what he considered as his duty. At Athens his invectives were louder than ever against the King of Macedon; and the affairs of Eubœa gave him an opportunity of exerting himself with equal zeal in that island.

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The factious spirit of the Eubœans rendered them alike incapable of independence, and of remaining quietly under the government either of Athens or Macedon, to which they were alternately subject. The recent prevalence of the Macedonian party had been marked by many acts of violence and oppression. The city of Chalcis, Oreum, and Eretria, prepared to rebel, having previously solicited assistance from Peloponnesus, Acarnania, Attica, and every province of Greece, which they had any reason to deem favourable to their views. From other states they brought back promises and hopes; from Athens they obtained, chiefly through the influence of Demosthenes, a considerable body of troops commanded by the brave and virtuous Phocion. The orator accompanied the expedition; and being allowed to address the popular assemblies in most of the cities of Eubœa, he inflamed them with such animosity against Philip and his partisans, that little remained to be done by the valour of the Athenian general. The Eubœans every where took arms in defence of their freedom, the Macedonian garrisons were expelled from the principal cities, and driven from one post to another, till they were forced

The Athenians recover Eubœa.

³⁹ Plut. in Demosth.

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The merit
of Demos-
thenes ac-
knowledg-
ed on this
occasion.

Circum-
stances
which en-
abled the
Perinthi-
ans to
make an
obstinate
defence.
Olymp.
cix. 4.
A. C. 341.

entirely to evacuate the island. This event occasioned great joy at Athens; and the principal merit was ascribed to Demosthenes, who, at the motion of Aristonicus, a man of merit and eminence, was crowned by the senate and people with a golden crown; which honour was publicly proclaimed in the theatre of Bacchus, during the representation of the new tragedies, amidst an immense concourse of people, citizens, and strangers.⁴⁰

The loss of Eubœa was ill compensated to Philip by the military operations against Perinthus, in which he found an enemy worthy of his courage and perseverance. The town was situate on the sloping ridge of an isthmus, and strongly fortified both by art and nature, the houses and streets rising one above another like the seats of an amphitheatre, so that the higher edifices overlooked and defended the lower. Having scoured the neighbouring country with his cavalry, Philip exhausted, in the siege of Perinthus, all the military skill known to the ancients. He raised towers forty cubits high, which enabled his men to fight on equal ground with the besieged; his miners were busy at the foundation; at length the battering rams advanced to the wall, in which a considerable breach was made. During this time, however, the townsmen had not been idle. The superior discharge of darts, arrows, and every kind of missile weapon, from the Macedonian towers, had indeed dislodged the Perinthians

⁴⁰ Demosth. de Coron. et Plut. in Demosth.

from those parts of the wall and battlements, against which the principal attack had been directed. But with incessant toil, the besieged built a new wall within the former, on which they appeared in battle array, prepared to repel the enemy who entered the breaches.⁴¹ The Macedonians, who advanced with impetuous joy to reap the fruits of their labour, were infinitely mortified to find that their work must be begun anew. Philip employed rewards and punishments, and all the resources of his mind, fertile in expedients, to restore their hopes and so reanimate their activity. The siege recommenced with fresh ardour, and the Perinthians were thrice reduced to extremity, when they were unexpectedly saved, first by a large supply of arms and provisions from Byzantium, next by a strong reinforcement of men in Persian pay, commanded by Apollodorus, a citizen of Athens; and lastly, by the advantageous situation of the town, which, being built in a conical form, presenting its apex or narrow point to the besiegers, gradually rose and widened towards the remoter parts, from which it was easy to observe all the motions of the enemy, and, as they approached, to overwhelm them from distant batteries. Philip, ever sparing of the lives of his men, was deterred by this circumstance from venturing an assault, though his machines had effected a breach in the new wall; he therefore determined to change the siege into a blockade. Perinthus

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⁴¹ Diodor. p. 466. et seq.

C H A P. was shut up as closely as possible by sea and
XXXVI. land ; part of the Macedonian troops who had
 become mutinous for want of pay (for Philip at
 this time owed above two hundred talents, or
 forty thousand pounds sterling), were indulged
 in plundering the rich territory of Byzantium,
 while the remainder were conducted to the siege
 of Selymbria, and soon after of Byzantium itself,
 the taking of which places, it was hoped, might
 compensate their lost labour at Perinthus.⁴²

The Thra-
 cian cities,
 supported
 by nume-
 rous allies,
 resist the
 arms of
 Philip.

During the military operations against the cities of the Propontis, Demosthenes did not cease exhorting his countrymen to undertake their defence as essential to their own safety. The hostilities and devastations of Philip, he represented as the periodical returns of the pestilence and other contagious disorders, in which all men were alike threatened with their respective shares of calamity. He, who was actually sound and untainted, had an equal interest with the diseased and infirm, to root out the common evil, which if allowed to lurk in any part would speedily pervade and afflict the whole. The Macedonians now besieged Selymbria and Byzantium ; if successful in these enterprises, they would soon appear before Sparta, Thebes, and Athens. Yet he knew not by what fatality the Greeks viewed the successive encroachments of Philip, not as events which their vigorous and united opposition might ward off and repel, but as disasters inflicted by the hand of Providence ; as a

⁴² Diodorus, l. xvi. c. 22.

tempestuous cloud of hail so destructive to the vines in autumn, which all beheld, with horror, hovering over them, but none took any other means to prevent, than by deprecating the fatal visitation from his own field.⁴³ These animated and just representations of the common distress or danger, engaged the Athenians to enter into a close correspondence with the besieged cities.⁴⁴ Demosthenes undertook a journey to Byzantium; and Leon, a Byzantine orator and patriot, the friend and fellow-student of the virtuous Phocion, resided as ambassador in Athens. At the same time, the principal cities of the Propontis maintained an uninterrupted intercourse of good offices with each other, as well as with their allies of Rhodes and Chios, from whom they received repeated supplies of arms and provisions.

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Philip, meanwhile, ceased not to assure the Athenians, by his letters and emissaries, that he was extremely desirous of maintaining peace with their republic, and gently chid them for their evident marks of partiality towards his enemies, which, however, he took care to ascribe, not to the general temper and disposition of the

Philip attacks and defeats Diopetides, and justifies his conduct to the Athenians.

⁴³ Ἄλλα ὁμῶς ταυτ'ὄραντες δι' ἑλληνας ἀπεχόνται· καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὅπερ δι' τὴν χαλαράν, ἐμοίγε δοκῶσι, θεωρεῖν· εὐχομένοι μὴ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἕκαστοι γενέσθαι, κωλύειν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐπιχειρῶν. Demosth. in Philip. iii. p. 48. In the country where I now write (the Pais de Vaud) the beauty and force of this comparison is too well understood. Lofty mountains covered with snow, sunny hills, and fertile vallies. — Such too is the geography of Greece, which rendered the hail-storms so alarming to vintagers.

⁴⁴ Demosthen. de Corona.

C H A P. people, but to the prevalence of a dangerous
XXXVI. faction, inflamed by seditious and selfish demagogues. By a rapid march he had recently surprised an Athenian detachment ravaging the territory of Cardia. Diopeithes, the Athenian general in the Chersonesus, commanded this predatory band, which, after a slight skirmish, was repelled with the loss of its leader, slain by a dart, while he rallied his men with his voice and arm. Philip failed not, by letter, to excuse this act of hostility, to which he assured the Athenians, that he had been compelled much against his inclination : he affected to consider Diopeithes as the instrument of a malignant faction, headed by Demosthenes, rather than as the acknowledged general of the republic ; and, as that commander had acted unwarrantably in plundering the Cardians, a people strictly allied with Macedon, Philip assured himself that the senate and people would not take it amiss that, provoked by repeated injuries, he had resisted wanton aggression, and defended the lives and fortunes of his long-injured confederates.

Philip's
 admiral
 seizes an
 Athenian
 convoy
 destined
 for the re-
 lief of Se-
 lymbria.

While the Athenians and Philip were on this footing of correspondence, the former sent twenty vessels laden with corn to the relief of the Selymbrians. Leodamas, who commanded this convoy, seems to have imagined that the treaty formerly subsisting between the two powers would protect him from injury. But in this he was disappointed. His fleet was surrounded and taken by Amyntas, who commanded the naval force of Macedon, and who determined to retain his prize, without paying

any regard to the complaints and remonstrances of Leodamas, who pretended that the convoy was not destined for Selymbria, but employed in conveying the superabundance of the fertile Chersonesus, to the rocky and barren island of Lemnos.

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The news of the capture of their ships occasioned much tumult and uneasiness among the Athenians. After frequent deliberations on this subject, a decree was framed for sending ambassadors to Philip, in order to re-demand their property, and to require that Amyntas, if he had exceeded his instructions, should be punished with due severity. Cephisophon, Democritus, and Polycrates, who were named for this commission, repaired without delay to Philip in the Hellespont, who, at their request, immediately released the captured vessels, and dismissed the Athenians with the following letter: "Philip King of Macedon, to the senate and people of Athens, Health. I have received three of your citizens in quality of ambassadors, who have conferred with me about the release of certain ships, commanded by Leodamas. I cannot but admire their simplicity in thinking to persuade me that these ships were intended to convey corn from the Chersonesus to the isle of Lemnos, and not destined for the relief of the Selymbrians, actually besieged by me, and nowise included in the treaty of pacification between Athens and Macedon. This unjust commission Leodamas received, not from the people of Athens, but from certain magistrates, and others

Philip restores the captured vessels, and writes an artful letter to the Athenians.
Olymp. cix. 4.
A.C. 341.

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Demos-
thenes per-
suades the
Athenians
to succour
the besieged
cities in
Thrace.

now in private stations, who are too busy in urging you to violate your engagements, and to commence hostilities against me ; a matter which they have more at heart than the relief of Selymbria, fondly imagining that they may derive personal advantage from such a rupture. Deeply persuaded that our mutual interest requires us to frustrate their wicked schemes, I have given orders to release the captured vessels ; do you, in return, remove such pernicious counsellors from the administration of your affairs ; and let them feel the severity of your justice. On my part, I shall endeavour to preserve and consolidate the treaty, by which we stand mutually engaged.”⁴⁵

The moderate and friendly sentiments expressed in this letter afforded great advantage to the Macedonian partisans at Athens. But Demosthenes, and Leon of Byzantium, spared no pains to detect and expose the artifices and duplicity of Philip, who employed this humble and peaceful tone, during his operations against the cities of the Propontis, in order to stifle the resentment of the Athenians, at a crisis when they might act against him with peculiar advantage. In elaborate and powerful orations⁴⁶, in which, without urging any new matter, Demosthenes condensed, invigorated, and enlivened his former observations and reasonings, he convinced his countrymen of the expediency of being for once before-hand with their enemy, and of anticipating his designs against themselves by a

⁴⁵ Epist. Philip. in Demosth.

⁴⁶ Orat. iv. in Philip. et Orat. de Epist. Philip.

speedy and effectual assistance to their distressed brethren of Perinthus, Selymbria, and Byzantium. By his convincing eloquence, the public councils were animated with a degree of energy and enthusiasm which had not appeared in them during many years, and which produced the last transitory glimpse of success and splendour, before the glory of Athens was extinguished for ever.

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It was decreed by the senate and people, to fit out a fleet of an hundred and twenty gallies; but unfortunately the command was given to Chares, whose character rendered him as contemptible to the enemies, as he was formidable to the allies, of the republic. The Byzantines excluded him from their harbour, and he was defeated by Amyntas, the Macedonian admiral, off the opposite shore of Chalcedon. This disaster, which was chiefly occasioned by the incapacity of their commander, made the Athenians cast their eyes on Phocion⁴⁷, who, though ever ready to serve his country, was most frequently called for in times of danger and calamity.

Dishon-
ourable
expedition
of Chares.
Olymp.
cx. 1.
A. C. 340.

Before Phocion reached the Propontis, Philip, flushed with his naval success, made an attempt to storm Byzantium. That city was environed on three sides by the sea, and defended on the fourth by a strong wall, and a large and deep trench, crowned with lofty towers, separated at small intervals from each other. Confident in the strength of the place and the abundance of their magazines, the inhabitants of Byzantium,

Philip fails
in his at-
tempt to
surprise
Byzan-
tium.

⁴⁷ Plutarch. in Phocion

CH A P. without risking a sally, allowed Philip to carry
 XXXVI. on his works, and gradually to make his ap-
 { approaches to their walls. During this inaction of
 the townsmen, Philip carefully advanced his bat-
 tering engines, and seemed determined to assault
 the walls; but, meanwhile, embraced proper mea-
 sures for gaining the place by surprise. For
 executing this design, he chose the gloom of a
 tempestuous night; a determined band of Ma-
 cedonians passed the ditch; the scaling-ladders
 were already fixed; when the centinels of By-
 zantium were alarmed by the barking of mastiffs,
 kept in the towers, even in time of peace, to se-
 cure them in the night. The alarm spread with
 rapidity among the several guards, who rushing
 tumultuously from their respective stations, as
 if the enemy had been already masters of the
 town, were on the point of blindly assaulting each
 other, when a bright meteor, or repeated flashes
 of lightning, enabled them to distinguish their
 friends and to discern the danger. Having
 formed in some degree of order, they advanced
 against the Macedonians, who had already
 gained the rampart, from which they were with
 difficulty repulsed by superior numbers.⁴⁸

The Athe-
 nians,
 command-
 ed by Pho-
 cion, save
 the Thra-
 cian cities;
 Olymp.
 cx. l.
 A. C. 340.

The defeat of this bold and dangerous enter-
 prise did not discourage Philip from carrying on
 his operations with indefatigable diligence and
 vigour. His perseverance must finally have pre-
 vailed over the obstinacy of the besieged, had not
 the Athenian fleet, under Phocion, arrived in
 the Thracian Bosphorus. The Byzantines received

⁴⁸ Diodor. l. xvi. p. 468.

him with open arms, expecting that under such a commander, their auxiliaries would prove not less modest and inoffensive in their quarters than active and intrepid in the field. Nor were their hopes disappointed; the arms of Philip were foiled in every rencounter; his artifices were met and eluded by similar address; nor could he expect by force or fraud to gain any advantage over an opponent alike brave and vigilant.⁴⁹ The King of Macedon, who had as much flexibility in varying his measures, as firmness in adhering to his purposes, was unwilling any farther to press his bad fortune. In the actual state of his affairs, he judged it necessary to raise the siege of Byzantium, to withdraw his forces from Selymbria and Perinthus, and to leave the Athenians in possession of the northern shore of the Propontis. These were humiliating resolutions; but fortunately for Philip, an event fell out, which prevented the execution of them from reflecting much discredit on his arms or policy.

Phocion, to whose conduct the safety of so many important cities was principally owing, sailed from Byzantium amidst the grateful vows and acclamations of innumerable spectators. In his voyage to the Chersonesus he captured a fleet of victuallers and transports, carrying arms and provisions for the enemy. When he arrived in that peninsula, he repressed the insolence of the Cardians, who, reinforced by a Macedonian garrison, had recently undertaken an expedition against the city of Sestos. He

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and ravage
the Mac-
donian ter-
ritories.

⁴⁹ Plut. in Phocion.

C H A P. recovered several places on the coast of Thrace,
 XXXVI. which had reluctantly submitted to the dominion
 of the Macedonians ; and, in concert with the
 inhabitants, embraced such measures as seemed
 most proper to protect the Athenian allies in
 those parts, from future danger. Instead of
 burdening the confederates with the mainten-
 ance of his army, he plentifully supplied all the
 wants of his soldiers from the enemy's country.
 He commanded in person the parties that went
 out to forage and to plunder ; and in one of those
 expeditions, received a dangerous wound, yet did
 not embark for his return, until he had spread the
 terror of the Athenian name, by ravaging with fire
 and sword the hereditary dominions of Philip.⁵⁰

Extraordi-
 nary hon-
 ours con-
 ferred on
 the Athe-
 nians and
 Phocion,
 by the ci-
 ties which
 they had
 relieved.

The meritorious services of Phocion were
 deeply felt and acknowledged by the communi-
 ties whom he had protected and relieved.⁵¹ The
 deliverance and gratitude of the Chersonesus, of
 Perinthus, and of Byzantium, were testified by
 crowns, statues, inscriptions, and altars ; and are
 still recorded in an oration of Demosthenes⁵²,
 which most justly survives those perishing monu-
 ments of gold and marble. The decree of the
 Byzantines and Perinthians, after describing the
 ancient and recent benefits conferred on them by
 Athens, enacted, "that in return for those favours
 the Athenians should be entitled to the right of
 intermarriage, the privilege of purchasing lands in
 their territories, the freedom of their respective

⁵⁰ Plut. in Phocion. et Diodor. ubi supra.

⁵¹ Idem, ibid.

⁵² Demosthen. de Corona.

cities, and the first and most honourable place in all their entertainments and assemblies: That whatever Athenians chose to reside with them should be exempted from taxes: And that, further, three statues, each sixteen cubits high, should be erected in the port of Byzantium, representing the republic of Athens, crowned by the Byzantines and Perinthians: That this crown should be proclaimed at the four principal festivals of Greece, in order to commemorate the magnanimity of Athens, and the gratitude of the Byzantines and Perinthians." The inhabitants of the Chersonesus were not less forward in their acknowledgments and rewards. After a similar preamble, setting forth the manifold favours of their great and generous allies, they resolved to crown the senate and the people of Athens with a golden crown worth sixty talents; and to consecrate an altar to Gratitude and the Athenians. These public and solemn honours afforded matter of equal triumph to Phocion, who had executed, and to Demosthenes, who had advised, the measures, in consequence of which such just glory had been acquired. At the distance of several years, the orator still boasted of this important service. "You have frequently, Athenians! rewarded with crowns the statesmen most successful in conducting your affairs. But name, if you can, any other counsellor, any other statesman, by whose means the state itself hath been thus honoured."⁵³

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⁵³ Demosth. de Coron.

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Atheas
King of
Scythia
invites
Philip to
assist him
against the
Istrians.

The circumstance which enabled Philip to elude the violence of the storm with which the hostility of Athens, Persia, and so many other powers, had been long preparing to overwhelm him, took its rise from an error of judgment, occasioned by that boundless ambition which formed the ruling passion of the Macedonian prince. Beyond the confines of Thrace, and beyond the northern frontier of the Lower Mœsia, dwelt a powerful Scythian tribe, in the valuable peninsula contained between the western waves of the Euxine and the majestic stream of the Danube. The roving and unsettled life of the Scythians, like that of their descendants the Tartars, had led them into this country, from their native and proper territories, embracing the six mouths of the Danube or Ister, the banks of the Boristhenes, and the shores of the Palus Mœotis, which districts in ancient times were named Little Scythia⁵⁴, and are still called Little Tartary.⁵⁵ A monarch less warlike and less ambitious than Philip, might have observed, with indignation and regret, those fierce and rapacious Barbarians, extending themselves beyond their natural limits, and enjoying an establishment to the south of the Danube; which great river, as he was already master of Thrace, and counted the Triballi of Mœsia among the number of his tributaries, Philip's proud and usurping fancy had already usurped as the barrier of his empire, and the proper line of separation between barbarous and civilized

⁵⁴ Herodotus & Strabo, *passim*.

⁵⁵ Geograph. de D'Anville.

nations. It was not, therefore, without such excess of joy as transported him beyond the bounds of sound policy, that, amidst his preparations against the cities on the Propontis, he received an invitation from Atheas⁵⁶, who styled himself King of the Scythians, to march to his assistance, and to defend his dominions, consisting in the peninsula above mentioned, against an invasion of the Istrians, which the domestic forces of Atheas were totally unable to resist. To this proposal was added a condition extremely alluring to the King of Macedon, that if his auxiliary arms enabled Atheas to vanquish and expel the invaders, Philip should be named heir to the *kingdom* of Scythia; for, according to the fashion of ancient times, Atheas dignified with the name of kingdom, a territory little larger than the principality of Wales.

In greedily snatching this bait laid for his ambition, Philip was not enough on his guard against the usual perfidy and levity of Barbarians; nor did he sufficiently consider, that by sending a powerful detachment into Scythia, he must greatly weaken his exertions against the cities of the Propontis. With an ardour and alacrity too rapid for reflection, he eagerly closed with the propositions of Atheas, sent a great body of forces to the north, and promised to assist them in person at the head of his whole army, should they encounter any difficulty in the execution of their purpose. Meanwhile the warlike chief of the Istrians, whose courage alone animated, and whose con-

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Perfidy
and insolence
of
that Barbarian.

⁵⁶ Justin. l. ix. c. 2.

C H A P. duct rendered successful, the arms of his fol-
 XXXVI. lowers, was cut off by sudden death: the dis-
 spirited Istrians were attacked, defeated, and re-
 pelled; and, before any assistance from Macedon,
 Atheas once more regained possession of his king-
 dom. This unexpected revolution served to
 display the crafty and faithless Barbarian in his
 genuine deformity. The Macedonian troops
 were received coldly, treated with contempt,
 and absolutely denied their stipulated pay and
 subsistence. Their just remonstrances and com-
 plaints Atheas heard with scorn, and totally dis-
 avowed the propositions and promises of those
 who styled themselves his ambassadors; observ-
 ing "how unlikely it was, that he should have
 solicited the assistance of the Macedonians, who,
 brave as they were, could fight only with men,
 while the Scythians could combat cold and
 famine; and that it would have been still more
 unnatural to appoint Philip his successor, since
 he had a son of his own worthy to inherit his
 crown and dignity.⁵⁷

Philip re-
 monstrates
 with him
 in vain.

Upon receiving an account of the insolent be-
 haviour of a prince who had so recently solicited
 his alliance, Philip, while still busily, but unsuc-
 cessfully, employed against the cities of the Pro-
 pontis, sent an embassy to Scythia, requiring
 Atheas to satisfy the just demands of the Mace-
 donian troops, and to indemnify himself for the
 expence incurred in his defence. The ambassa-
 dors found the King of Sythia in his stable, cur-
 rying his horse. When they testified surprise at

⁵⁷ Justin. l. ix. c. 2.

seeing him engaged in such an occupation, he asked them, Whether their master did not often employ himself in the same manner? adding, that for his own part, in time of peace, he made not any distinction between himself and his groom. When they opened their commission and explained the demands of Philip, the subtle Barbarian told them, that the poverty of Scythia could not furnish a present becoming the greatness of their master; and that, therefore, it seemed more handsome to offer nothing at all, than such a gift as would be totally unworthy of his acceptance. ⁵⁷

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This evasive and mortifying answer being brought to the King of Macedon when foiled and harassed, yet not disheartened, by his unprosperous expedition against Byzantium, furnished him with a very honourable pretence for raising the siege of that place, and conducting a powerful army into Scythia, that he might chastise the treacherous ingratitude of a prince, who, after having over-reached him by fraud, now mocked him with insult. Having advanced to the frontier of Atheas's dominions, Philip had recourse to his usual arts, and sent a herald with the ensigns of peace and friendship, to announce his arrival in Scythia, in order to perform a solemn vow which he had made during the siege of Byzantium, to erect a brazen statue to Hercules on the banks of the Danube. The cunning Atheas was not the dupe of this artifice, which he knew how to encounter and elude with similar address. Without

Philip determines to chastise his ingratitude and perfidy.

⁵⁷ Justin. l. ix. c. 2.

C H A P. praising or blaming the pious intention of the
XXXVI. King, he coolly desired him to forward the statue, which he himself would take care to erect in the appointed place; that, should it be set up with his concurrence and direction, it would probably be allowed to stand; otherwise, he could give no assurance that the Scythians would not pull it down, and melt it, to make points for their weapons.⁵⁸

Success of
 his Scy-
 thian ex-
 pedition.

The return of the Macedonian herald gave the signal for hostility. Philip entered the country with fire and sword, destroying the forests and pasturage, and seizing the slaves and cattle, which formed the principal wealth of the Scythians. He seems to have employed several weeks in an expedition, the circumstances of which, were they essential to the design of this work, could not be related with any fulness or accuracy. Countries in a pastoral state are but thinly peopled; and Philip was obliged to divide his forces, in order to vanquish with great rapidity the wandering hordes, separated from each other by wide intervals, according as a forest, a meadow, or a stream of fresh water, obtained their preference, and decided their temporary abode. A party of Macedonian soldiers beat up the quarters of a numerous and warlike clan, by which they were repelled, with the loss of several slain or taken. Among the latter was Ismenias, an eminent musician, who had been invited by liberal rewards to reside at the court of Philip, after being long admired in Greece for his performance on the flute. This distinguished cap-

⁵⁸ Justin. l. ix. c. 2.

tive was sent as a present to Atheas, who received so little delight from his accomplishments, that having heard him perform, he acknowledged the neighing of his horse to be to his ear far more agreeable music. The skirmish in which Ismenias was taken seems to have been the principal advantage obtained by the Barbarians, whose constitutional courage, and impetuous ill-directed fury, was every-where overcome by the disciplined valour of the Macedonian phalanx.⁵⁹

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Philip reaped such fruits from his Scythian expedition as might be expected in vanquishing a people who had no King but their general, no god but their sword, and no cities but the ground on which they occasionally encamped with their herds and families. The spoil consisted in arms, chariots, twenty thousand robust captives, a greater number of mares destined to replenish the studs of Pella.⁶⁰ We are not informed whether Philip erected the promised statue to the great founder and protector of his family and kingdom. It is probable that he imposed a tribute on the Scythians, as a mark of their submission and dependence, purposing to reduce them more thoroughly, when he had effected his great designs in Greece, to which country the silent operation of his intrigues now summoned his return.

The nature and quantity of the booty.

But while he marched southward at the head of an army encumbered with baggage and spoil, a very unexpected event threatened to blast his laurels, and to terminate at once his glory and

Philip, on his return, surprised by the Triballi.

⁵⁹ Justin. l. ii. c. 5.

⁶⁰ Compare Justin. l. ix. c. 2. & Strabo, p. 752.

C H A P. his life. Allured by the hopes of sharing the
XXXVI. warlike plunder of the Scythians, the barbarous
 Triballi, who had been often conquered, but never
 thoroughly subdued, beset by ambush, and vigorously
 assaulted the Macedonians, entangled amidst the intricate windings of the mountains
 of Moesia; hoping to cut off, by one stroke, the
 flower of a nation whose authority their own
 fierce spirit of independence had very reluctantly
 condescended to obey. The confusion and the
 danger was increased by a mercenary band of
 Greeks, who, harassed by the fatigues of war
 and travelling, always clamorous for pay, which
 was very irregularly paid them, and perhaps jealous
 of the Macedonians, seized the present opportunity
 to desert the standard of Philip, and
 to reinforce the arms of the Triballi. ⁶¹

Alexander
 saves the
 life of his
 father,

The King of Macedon, too prudent to undertake
 superfluous danger, never acquired by valour
 what might be obtained by stratagem; but when
 a necessary occasion solicited his courage and his
 prowess, he knew how to assume the hero, and (if
 we may transpose an ancient proverb) "to eke
 out the fox's with the lion's skin." ⁶² The
 urgency of the present emergence summoned all the
 firmness of his mind. With his voice and arm,
 he encouraged the astonished and disheartened
 Macedonians; conducted his faithful guards to the
 heat of the battle, and fought with unexampled
 bravery, till the same weapon which pierced his
 horse, laid the rider senseless on the ground.
 The young Alexander, who fought near him,

⁶¹ Justin. l. ix. c. 3. Plut. in Alexand.

⁶² Vid. Plut. in Lysand.

derived peculiar glory from saving the life of his father, whom he covered with his shield, and defended by his sword, until his attendants conveyed him to a place of safety⁶³; the son so worthily succeeding to the command, that the tumult was fortunately appeased, and the Barbarians routed and put to flight. Philip's wound was attended with an incurable lameness, which he bore with much impatience. His magnanimous son endeavoured to remove his chagrin, by asking, how he could be vexed at an accident, which continually reminded him of his valour?⁶⁴

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and de-
feats the
Triballi.

To repair the effects of this unforeseen delay, the Macedonians hastened through Thrace, where Philip, as he had reason to expect, was met by deputies from the Amphictyonic council, appointing him general of their forces, and requesting him to march into Greece with all convenient speed. The secret practices and intrigues, which had been ripening during the Scythian expedition, produced this extraordinary message, the remote as well as immediate causes of which deserve to be distinctly unravelled, being the last knot of a tragedy which involves the fate of Greece.

Philip ap-
pointed
general of
the Am-
phictyons.
Olymp.
cx. 2.
A. C. 339.

The spirited resistance of Selymbria and Byzantium, the successful expeditions of Phocion in the Hellespont and Propontis, the prodigal terrors of Ochus King of Persia, who thought it impossible to employ his wealth more usefully than in bridling the ambition of Philip; above all, the con-

The situa-
tion of
Philip's
affairs en-
courages
the Athe-
nians to
exert
themselves

⁶³ Plut. de Fortun. Alexand. & Justin. l. ix. c. 3.

⁶⁴ Plut. in Alexand.

C H A P.
XXXVI.

with vi-
gour.
Olymp.

ex. 2.
A. C. 339.

tinual expostulations and remonstrances of Demosthenes, conspired to rouse the Athenians from the lethargy in which they had been long sunk, and animated them with a desire to carry on the war with activity and effect against the common enemy of Greece. In order to save the state, they consented (though probably not without a violent struggle) to abolish the very popular law, or rather abuse, introduced by Eubulus. The theatrical amusements, so passionately idolised by the multitude, were celebrated with less pomp and splendour; and the military fund was thenceforth applied to its original and proper destination. A fleet was equipped far superior to the naval strength of Macedon.⁶⁵ The troops and partisans of that kingdom were driven from their ambushes in Megara, and in the neighbouring territories, where they had long watched an opportunity of destroying the liberty of Athens. Demosthenes, and Hyperides, an orator second only to Demosthenes, were dispatched into the Peloponnesus and other parts of Greece, to persuade the several republics to second the generous ardour of the Athenians, whose recent success under Phocion added great weight to the arguments and eloquence of those illustrious statesmen.⁶⁶

Difficul-
ties with
which
Philip had
to struggle.

Philip was accurately informed of all those transactions; and the alarm universally spread among his faithful emissaries, inclined them rather to exaggerate than to conceal the danger. Highly provoked against the Athenians, the

⁶⁵ Demosthen. de Corona.

⁶⁶ Idem, ibid.

continual opposers of his greatness, he was unable to retaliate their injuries. If he attacked them by land, he must march through the territories of the Thebans and Thessalians, who, ever selfish and capricious, would be ready to forsake him on the first reverse of fortune. His disgraceful expedition against the cities of the Propontis, rendered the present juncture extremely unfavourable to such a hazardous design. Nor could he attempt, with any prospect of success, to attack the enemy by sea, since the Athenian fleet so far exceeded his own, that it had interrupted, and almost totally destroyed, the commerce of Macedon.

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Amidst this complication of difficulties, Philip shewed how well he understood the unsteady temper of the Greeks, by raising the siege of Byzantium, and burying himself in the wilds of Scythia, till the fuming animosity of his adversaries had time to evaporate. Not venturing on open hostility, he, meanwhile, employed two secret engines, which continued to work during his absence, and from which he had reason to expect very signal advantages before his return. There lived at Athens a man of the name of Antiphon, bold, loud, and loquacious in the popular assembly, in which, however, he had not a title to vote, much less to speak, his name not being recorded in the public register of the city. This defect passed long unobserved, through that supine negligence with which Demosthenes so frequently upbraids his countrymen. At length the treason of Antiphon (for the Athe-

His intrigues with the incendiary Antiphon;

C H A P. nians regarded an unqualified voter in the as-
XXXVI. sembly as an usurper of sovereign power) was
 discovered, and arraigned by one of the many
 citizens to whom his insolence and calumny had
 justly rendered him obnoxious ; in consequence
 of which impeachment, the supposititious Athe-
 nian was divested of his borrowed character, and
 driven with ignominy from a country, whose most
 sacred honours he had so unworthily assumed.
 Stung with disappointment and rage, Antiphon
 had recourse to the King of Macedon, and of-
 fered himself for any enterprise, however bloody
 or desperate, by which, in serving the interest of
 Philip, he might gratify his own thirst for ven-
 geance. The ambitious Macedonian kept his
 ends too steadily in view, and pursued them with
 too much ardour and perseverance, to be very de-
 licate in choosing the means by which he might
 distress his adversaries. He greedily closed,
 therefore, with the proposal of Antiphon, in
 whom he rejoiced to find an instrument so fit
 for his service.

who at-
 tempts to
 set fire to
 the Athe-
 nian docks.

The superiority of the Athenians by sea, which
 their actual diligence in their docks and arsenals
 shewed them determined to maintain and increase,
 formed the chief obstacle to the grandeur of Ma-
 cedon. By whom the design was suggested, is
 unknown; but it was agreed between Philip and
 Antiphon, that the latter should return to Athens
 in disguise, insinuate himself into the Piræus, and
 lie there in concealment, until he found an oppor-
 tunity to set fire to the Athenian docks, and thus
 destroy at once the main hope of the republic.

While the artful King of Macédon eluded the storm of his enemies by wandering in the woods of Scythia, his perfidious accomplice lurked, like a serpent in the bosom of Athens, being lodged without suspicion in the harbour which glowed with the ardour of naval preparation, and into which were daily accumulated new masses of tar, timber, and other materials, alike proper for a fleet, and for the purpose of Antiphon.

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But the vigilance of Demosthenes discovered this desperate design, when on the point of execution. He immediately flew to the Piræus, dragged Antiphon from his concealment, divested him of his disguise, and produced him at the bar of the assembly. The capricious and deluded multitude, alike prone to anger and to compassion, were on this occasion very differently affected from what might be conjectured. Instead of execrating a wretch capable of such black deeds, they beheld, with pity, a man once regarded as their fellow-citizen, brought before them after a long absence, and accused, perhaps on vain presumptions, of such a horrid crime. They knew besides the wicked artifices of their orators, who, to increase their own importance, often terrified the public with false alarms and imaginary dangers. Æschines, and other partisans of Philip, were at hand to strengthen these impressions. They represented the whole transaction of Demosthenes as a complication of fraud and cruelty; loudly inveighed against his insolent triumph over the calamities of the unfortunate; and reproached his entering by force

The design detected by Demosthenes.

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into the house where Antiphon was concealed, as a violation of freedom pregnant with the most dangerous consequences, and as trampling on the respected maxim of Athenian law and religion, that every man's house was his ⁶⁷ sanctuary. Such was the effect of these clamours, that Antiphon was dismissed without the formality of a trial, and might, perhaps, have resumed his purpose with more security than before, had not the wiser senate of the Areopagus thought fit carefully to examine the information of Demosthenes. By the authority of that court, the traitor was again seized, and tried. Torture, which the institution of domestic slavery introduced and rendered familiar in Greece, extorted from him a late and reluctant confession; and his enormous guilt was punished with as enormous severity. ⁶⁸

Philip's
intrigues
for embroiling
the affairs
of Greece.

Had the detestable enterprise of Antiphon been crowned with ill-merited success, Philip would have attained his purpose of ruining Athens, by a rude stroke of vulgar perfidy. But the engines which he set in motion for gaining the same end, at a time when he was obliged to fly the awakened resentment of Greece, and to bury in the wilds of Scythia the disgrace sustained before the walls of Byzantium, will not be easily matched by any parallel transactions in history, whether we consider the profound artifice with which the plan was contrived and combined, the nice adaptation of the several parts, or the

⁶⁷ Lysias passim in Agorat. et Eratosth.

⁶⁸ Demosthenes de Coron. who gives the honourable account of his own conduct described in the text.

unwearied dexterity with which the whole was carried into execution. It is on this occasion that Demosthenes might justly exclaim, "In one circumstance, chiefly, is Philip distinguished above all his ambitious predecessors, the enemies of Grecian freedom. His measures required the co-operation of traitors, and traitors he has found more corrupt and more dexterous than ever appeared in any former age; and, what is most worthy of remark, the principal instruments of his ambition were fashioned in the bosom of that state, whose public councils most openly opposed his greatness."⁶⁹

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The time approached for convening at Delphi the vernal assembly of the Amphictyons. It was evidently the interest of the Athenians, and might have been expected from their just resentment against Philip, that they should send such deputies to the city of Apollo, as were most hostile to the Macedonian, and most zealous in the cause of liberty and their country. But intrigue and cabal prevailed over every motive of public utility; and the negligent or factious multitude were persuaded, at a crisis which demanded the most faithful and incorrupt ministers, to employ as their representatives in the Amphictyonic council, Æschines and Midias; the former of whom had so often reproached, and the latter had, on one occasion, struck Demosthenes in the public theatre⁷⁰; and who were both not only

His partisans sent from Athens as deputies to the Amphictyons;

⁶⁹ Demosth. de Coron.

⁷⁰ Demosth. in Mid. et Æschin. in Ctesiphont.

C H A P. the declared enemies of this illustrious patriot,
XXXVI. but, as well as their colleagues Diognetus and
 Thrasicles, the warm and active partisans of the
 King of Macedon. Soon after their arrival at
 Delphi, Midias and Diognetus⁷¹ pretended sick-
 ness, that they might allow Æschines to display,
 uncontrouled, his superior dexterity; and to act
 a part, which, requiring the deepest dissimula-
 tion, might be performed most successfully by a
 single traitor. The Amphictyons were employed
 in repairing the temple; the sacred offerings,
 which had been removed and sold by the im-
 piety of the Phocians, were collected from every
 quarter of Greece; and new presents were made
 by several states, to supply the place of the old,
 which could not be recovered.

who pre-
 sent a de-
 dication to
 the temple
 highly of-
 fensive to
 the The-
 bans.

The Athenians particularly signalised their
 pious munificence, and sent, among other dedi-
 cations, several golden shields, with the follow-
 ing inscription: "Taken from the Medes and
 Thebans, when they fought against Greece."
 This offering, highly offensive to the Theban
 deputies, was prematurely suspended in the
 temple; the Thebans murmured, the Amphic-
 tyons listened to their complaints, and it was
 whispered in the council, that the Athenians
 deserved punishment for presenting their gift to
 the god, before it had been regularly conse-
 crated, together with the other offerings. Pre-
 tending high indignation at these murmurs,

⁷¹ Æschines says, Διογνητον πυρεττειν; "That Diognetus was
 seized with a fever, and that the same misfortune happened to
 Midias," p. 290.

Æschines⁷² rushed into the assembly, and began a formal, yet spirited defence of his countrymen; when he was rudely interrupted by a Locrian, of Amphissa⁷³, a city eight miles distant from Delphi, which growing populous and powerful on the ruins of Crissa and Cirrha, had ventured to cultivate the Cirrhean plain, which, near three centuries before, had been desolated by the Amphictyons, solemnly consecrated to Apollo, and devoted to perpetual sterility.⁷⁴

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The artful Locrian, affecting a religious zeal not less ardent than the patriotism of Æschines, clamorously interrupted that orator, calling aloud in the assembly that it ill became the dignity of the Amphictyons to hear with patience the justification, much less the praises of Athens, a city impious and profane, which, in defiance of human and divine laws, had so recently abetted the execrable sacrilege of the Phocians; that if the Amphictyons followed his advice, or consulted the dictates of duty and honour, they would not allow the detested name of the Athenians to be mentioned in that august council.⁷⁵

The Athenians reproached by the deputy of Amphissa.

Æschines thus obtained an opportunity of ex-

⁷² Αρχόμενος δὲ μὲν λέγειν, καὶ προθυμότερον πῶς εἰσεληλυθὸς εἰς τὸ συνέδριον. Æschin. p. 290.

⁷³ Æschines varnishes the story with inimitable address: ἀναβήσας τις τῶν Ἀμφισσίων, ἀνθρώπος ἀσελγέστατος, καὶ ὡς ἡμῶι ἐφαινετο ὀφθαλμοῦ παιδείας μετεσχηκώς, ὥς δὲ καὶ δαίμονος τινὸς ἐξαμαρτάνειν αὐτὸν προηγόμενος. "He was interrupted by the vociferation of a certain Amphissean, a man the most impudent, totally illiterate, and perhaps impelled to folly by some offended divinity."

⁷⁴ See these events particularly related, vol. i. c. v. p. 213.

⁷⁵ Æschin. in Ctesiphont.

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Æschines
inveighs
against the
Locrians
for culti-
vating the
Cirrhean
plain ;

citing such tumults in the assembly as suited the views of Philip.⁷⁶ In the ardour of patriotic indignation, which he knew so well to assume, he poured forth a torrent of impetuous invective against the insolent Locrian, and his city Amphissa; not only justified the innocence, but displayed with ostentation the illustrious merit of the Athenians; and then addressing the Amphictyons with a look peculiarly earnest and expressive, " Say, ye Grecians! shall men who never knew the exalted pleasures of virtue and renown, be suffered to tear from us the inestimable rewards of glory so justly earned?" Shall men, themselves polluted by sacrilege, and already devoted to destruction by the most awful imprecations, presume to call the Athenians profane and impious? Look down, ye reverend guardians of religion! look down on that plain, (pointing to the Cirrhean plain, which might be seen from the temple,) behold these lands anciently devoted to the god, but now appropriated and cultivated by the Amphisseans; behold the numerous buildings which they have erected there, and that accursed port of Cirrha, justly

⁷⁶ Demosthen. de Corona.

⁷⁷ The persuasive energy with which Æschines defends his treachery, or rather displays his patriotism, on this occasion, is not excelled by any thing in Demosthenes himself. Had the works of the latter perished, the two orations of Æschines (de falsa Legatione, and in Ctesiphont.) would have been justly regarded as the most perfect models of eloquence produced by human genius. But the works, and even the name of Æschines, are eclipsed in the fame of his rival. So disproportionate are the rewards of acting a first and a second part, and so just the poet's advice to all candidates for fame :

Λιγὸν ἀρίστευεν καὶ ὑπεύροχον εἶμηναι ἄλλαν.

demolished by our ancestors, now rebuilt and fortified." *Æschines* here read the oracle of Apollo, which condemned that harbour and those lands to perpetual desolation. Then proceeding with increased vehemence: "For myself, ye Grecians! I swear, that I in person, my children, my country, will discharge our duty to Heaven; and, with all the powers and faculties of mind and body, avenge the abominable violation of the consecrated territory. Do you, *Amphictyons*! determine as wisdom shall direct. Your offerings are prepared, your victims are brought to the altar; you are ready to offer solemn prayers for blessings on yourselves, and on the republics which you represent. But consider with what voice, with what heart, with what confidence, you can breathe out your petitions, while you suffer the profanation of the *Amphisseans* to pass unrevenged. Hear the words of the imprecation, not only against those who cultivate the consecrated ground, but against those who neglect to punish them: "May they never present an acceptable offering to Apollo, Diana, Latona, or *Minerva* the provident; but may all their sacrifices and religious rites be forever rejected and abhorred!"⁷⁸

The warmth of *Æschines* occasioned the utmost confusion in the assembly. The golden shields, irregularly dedicated by the Athenians, were no longer the subject of discourse. This slight impropriety disappeared amidst the enormous impieties of the *Amphisseans*, which had

which excites the third sacred war.

⁷⁸ Pausanias Phocic. et *Æschin.* in *Ctesiphont.*

C H A P. been so forcibly painted to the superstitious
XXXVI. fancies of the terrified multitude. It was deter-
 mined, after violent contentions between those
 who accused, and those who defended, this un-
 happy people, that the Amphictyons, having sum-
 moned the assistance of the citizens of Delphi,
 should next day repair to the Cirrhean plain, in
 order to burn, cut down, and destroy the houses
 and plantations, which had so long adorned and
 defiled that devoted territory. The ravagers
 met with little opposition in performing this
 pious devastation; but as they returned towards
 the temple, they were overtaken and assaulted
 by a numerous party of Amphisceans, who threw
 them into disorder, made several prisoners, and
 pursued the rest to Delphi. The signal of war
 was now raised; the insulted Amphictyons, in
 whose persons the sanctity of religion had been
 violated, complained to their respective repub-
 lics, while the recent audacity of the Amphis-
 seans aggravated their ancient crimes and enor-
 mities. But agreeably to the languor inherent
 in councils which possess only a delegated au-
 thority, the measures of the Amphictyons were
 extremely low and irresolute: and, when they at
 length raised an army under the command of
 Cottypus, a Thessalian, and a creature of
 Philip's, their operations were ill conducted and
 unsuccessful.⁷⁹

The Am-
 phictyons
 appoint

Affairs were thus brought to the issue which had
 been expected by Æschines, and the accomplices

⁷⁹ Æschin. in Ctesiphont.

who assisted him in promoting the interest of the King of Macedon. They loudly declaimed in the council against the lukewarm indifference of the Grecian states in a war which so deeply concerned the national religion. "It became the Amphictyons, therefore, as the ministers of Apollo, and the guardians of his temple, to seek out and employ some more powerful instrument of the Divine vengeance. Philip of Macedon had formerly given proof of his pious zeal in the Phocian war. That prince was now returning in triumph from his Scythian expedition. His assistance must again be demanded (nor would it be demanded in vain) to defend the cause of Apollo and the sacred shrine." This proposal being approved, a deputation of the Amphictyons met Philip in Thrace. He received their welcome message with well-affected surprise, but declared his veneration for the commands of the council, which he should be ever ready to obey.⁸⁰

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Philip
their gene-
ral.

The vigilant prince had already taken proper measures for acting as general of the Amphictyons, and provided a sufficient number of transports to convey his army into Greece. He understood that notwithstanding the intrigues of Æschines and his associates, the Athenians had been persuaded by Demosthenes to oppose his design, and that their admirals Chares and Proxenus prepared to intercept his passage with a superior naval force. To baffle this opposition,

Philip
eludes the
Athenian
fleet by a
stratagem.

⁸⁰ Æschin. in Ctesiphont.

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Philip employed a stratagem. A light brigantine was dispatched to Macedon with letters of such import as gave reason to believe that he purposed immediately returning into ⁸¹ Thrace. Besides writing to Antipater, his principal confidant and minister, he took care to mask his artifice, by sending letters to his Queen Olympias. The brigantine fell designedly into the hands of the Athenians. The dispatches were seized and read; but the letter for the Queen was politely forwarded to its destination.⁸² The Athenian admirals quitted their station, and Philip arrived, without opposition, on the coast of Locris, from whence he proceeded to Delphi.

Philip defeats the Athenian mercenaries, and takes possession of Amphissa.

Though the Macedonians alone were far more numerous than seemed necessary for the reduction of Amphissa, the King, in the month of November, dispatched circular letters through most parts of Greece, requiring from the Thebans, Peloponnesians, and other states, the assistance of their combined arms to maintain the cause of the Amphictyons and Apollo. The Thebans, rather intimidated by a powerful army in their neighbourhood, than inclined to the Macedonians, of whose designs they had lately become extremely jealous, sent a small body of infantry to join the standard of Philip. The Lacedæmonians, long disgusted with the measures of Greece, and envying the power of Macedon, which they had not public spirit to oppose, beheld all recent transactions with a contemptuous disregard, obstinate in their pur-

⁸¹ Polyæn. l. iv. c. 2.

⁸² Plut. in Demetr.

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pose of preserving a sullen neutrality. The Athenians, awakened by the activity of Demosthenes to a sense of their danger, opposed Philip with ten thousand mercenaries, despising the threats of the oracle against those who took part with the impious Amphisseans. The orator boldly accused the Pythian priestess and her ministers of being bribed to Philippise, or to prophesy as might best suit the interest of Philip; while Æschines, on the other hand, accused his adversary of having received a thousand drachmas, and an annual pension of twenty minæ, to abet the impiety of Amphissa.⁸³ The King of Macedon, without waiting for any farther reinforcement than that which he had received from the Thebans, besieged, took, and garrisoned that unfortunate city; and having routed and put to flight the Athenian mercenaries, spread the terror of his arms round all the neighbouring territory.⁸⁴

The news of these events occasioned dreadful consternation in Athens. The terrified citizens, who could not be persuaded to tear themselves from their beloved pleasures in order to defend Amphissa, believed the moment approaching when they must defend their own walls against the victorious invader. After less altercation and delay than usually prevailed in their councils, they sent an embassy to Philip; craving a suspension of hostilities, and, at the same time, dispatched their ablest orators to rouse the Greeks from their supine-negligence,

The Athenians, while they negotiate with Philip, raise a confederacy against that prince.

⁸³ Æschin. in Ctesiphont.

⁸⁴ Demosthen. de Corona.

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The The-
bans fluctuate be-
tween the
party of
Philip and
that of the
Athenians.

and to animate and unite them against a Barbarian, who, under pretence of avenging the offended divinity of Apollo, meditated the subjugation of their common country. Megara, Eubœa, Leucas, Corinth, Corcyra, and Achaia, favourably received the ambassadors, and readily entered into a league against Macedon. Thebes fluctuated in uncertainty, hating the Athenians as rivals, and dreading Philip as a tyrant. The situation of the Theban territory, through which Philip must march before he could invade Attica, rendered the decision of that people peculiarly important.⁸⁵ To gain or to retain their friendship, the intrigues of Philip, the eloquence of Athens, had been employed with unwearied assiduity. The Thebans temporised, deliberated, resolved, and changed their resolutions. The partisans of Athens were most numerous, those of Macedon most active, while the great body of the Theban people heard the clamours and arguments of both parties with a stupid indifference, and took their measures with such lethargic slowness, as disgraced even the heavy character of *Bœotians*.⁸⁶

Philip
seizes
Elatæa.
Olymp.
cx. 3.
A. C. 338.

To fix their wavering irresolution, and to awaken their dull insensibility, Philip at length had recourse to the strong impression of terror. From the general wreck of Phocis, his foresight and policy had spared the walls of Elatæa, a city important by its situation between two ranges of mountains, which opened into Phocis and Bœotia. The citadel was built on an eminence, washed

⁸⁵ Diodor. l. xvi. p. 475.

⁸⁶ Demosthen. de Coron.

by the river Cephissus, which flowed in a winding course through Bœotia into the lake Copais; a broad expanse of water, which, by several navigable streams, communicated with Attica. This valuable post, conveniently situate for receiving reinforcements from Thessaly and Macedon, commanding the passage into Bœotia, distant only two days' march from Attica, and which, being garrisoned by a powerful army, might continually alarm the safety both of Thebes and of Athens, Philip seized with equal boldness and celerity⁸⁷, drew the greater part of his troops thither, repaired and strengthened the walls of the place, and having thus secured himself from surprise, watched a favourable opportunity of inflicting punishment on the Athenians, who had given him sufficient ground to represent them as the enemies of the Amphiçtyonic council⁸⁸, by whose authority the King of Macedon affected to be guided in all his operations.

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We are not informed of the immediate effect of this vigorous measure on the resolutions of the Thebans; but the terror and consternation of the uncorrupt part of the citizens may be conjectured by what happened on the same occasion at Athens. It was late in the evening when a courier arrived with the melancholy tidings that Philip had taken possession of Elatæa. The people had retired to their houses; the magistrates supped in the Prytanæum; but in a moment all were abroad. Some hastened to the

Alarm
thereby
excited in
Athens.

⁸⁷ Diodor. & Demosth. ubi supra. ⁸⁸ Æschin. in Ctesiphont.

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generals; others went in quest of the ⁸⁰ officer whose business it was to summon the citizens to council; most flocked to the market-place; and, in order to make room for the assembly, pulled down or burned the temporary wooden edifices erected by the tradesmen or artificers who exposed their wares to sale in that spacious square. Before dawn the confusion ceased; the citizens were all assembled; the senators took their places; the president reported to them the alarming intelligence that had been received. The herald then proclaimed with a loud voice, "That he, who had any thing to offer on the present emergence, should mount the rostrum, and propose his advice." The invitation, though frequently repeated, was received with silence and dismay. The magistrates, the generals, the demagogues, were all present; but none obeyed the summons of the herald, which Demosthenes calls the voice of their country imploring the assistance of her children. ⁸⁰

Demosthenes exhorts the Athenians to oppose Philip to the utmost of their power by sea and land.

At length that accomplished orator arose, and obtained the noblest triumph of patriotism; by urging, amidst universal consternation, an advice prudent, generous, and successful. He began by darting a ray of hope into the desponding citizens, and assuring them that were not the Thebans, the greater part at least of the Thebans,

⁸⁰ Τον σαλπικτην εκαλουν, De Corona, p. 317.

⁸⁰ Καλουσης δε της κοινης της πατριδος φωνης τον αρουστα υπερ σωτηριας ην γαρ ο κηρυξ κατα τους νομους φωνην αφησει, ταυτην κοινην της πατριδος δικαιον εστι ηγγεισθαι, p. 317. The passage that follows has been often cited, and can never be too much studied, as one of the finest examples of oratorical narration.

hostile to Philip, that prince would not be actually posted at Elatæa, but on the Athenian frontier. He exhorted his countrymen to shake off the unmanly terror which had surprised them; and, instead of fearing for themselves, to fear only for their neighbours, whose territories were more immediately threatened, and who must sustain the first shock of the invasion. "Let your forces," continued he, "immediately march to Eleusis, in order to show the Thebans, and all Greece, that as those who have sold their country are supported by the Macedonian forces at Elatæa, so you are ready to defend with your hereditary courage and fortune those who fight for liberty. Let ambassadors at the same time be sent to Thebes, to remind that republic of the good offices conferred by your ancestors; to assure the Thebans, that you do not consider them as aliens; that the people of Athens have forgot all recent hostilities with the citizens of Greece, and will never forsake the cause of their common country, which is actually, in a peculiar manner, the cause of Thebes. To this community, therefore, offer your most disinterested services. To make any demand for yourselves, would be highly improper in the present juncture. Assure them that you are deeply affected by their danger, and prepared generously to defend them to the utmost of your power."

These proposals being received with general approbation, Demosthenes drew up a formal decree for carrying them into execution; a

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The decree for that purpose,

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dated
August.

decree which may be considered as the expiring voice of a people, who, agreeably to the unanimous counsel of Pericles, had determined, that when every thing earthly perished, the fame of Athens should be immortal.⁹¹ Having painted, in the most odious colours, the perfidy and violence of Philip; and having stigmatised with due severity the recent instances of his injustice

⁹¹ See vol. ii. c. xv. p. 229. In defending his own conduct, notwithstanding the unfortunate consequences with which it was attended, Demosthenes seems animated by the true spirit of Pericles. *Βουλομαι τι καὶ παριδοξον εἰπεῖν καὶ μου πρὸς διος καὶ θεῶν! μὴδεις τὴν ὑπερβολὴν θαυμάσῃ, ἀλλὰ μετ' εὐνοίας ὃ λέγω θεωρήστω· εἰ γὰρ ἀπασὶ προδήλα τὰ μέλλοντα γενήσεσθαι, καὶ προῆδσαν πάντες, καὶ σὺ προῦλεγε λίσχυσι, καὶ διεμαρτερου, βῶν καὶ κεκραγώς, ὃς οὐδὲ ἐφθεγγώ· οὐδὲ οὕτως ἀποσταεὶν τῇ πόλει τούτων ἢν' εἰπὴ ἡ δοξῆς, ἡ προγονῶν, ἡ τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος εἴχε λόγον.* The beauties of such passages, depending chiefly on collocation of words and sentiments, of which Demosthenes, of all writers, was the greatest master, cannot be translated. The meaning is, "I will venture to say what is contrary to common opinion; and, in the name of the Gods! regard not its extravagance, but examine it with indulgence. Had all of you foreseen what was going to happen, had the consequences of our conduct been manifest, and had you, Æschines, repeatedly proclaimed them with a loud voice, you, who then opened not your mouth, yet the Athenians ought not to have forsaken the cause of Grecian freedom, unless they forsook their glory, their ancestors, and their renown with succeeding ages." The same thought is expressed in language still bolder, after the hearers had been prepared for it, by a page of the most animated eloquence: *Ἀλλὰ οὐκ ἐστὶ, ὅπως ἡμαρτετε, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀπάντων ἐλευθερίας καὶ σωτηρίας κίνδυνον ἀραμενοί· οὐ μὰ τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι προκινδυνεύσαντας τῶν προγονῶν, &c.* See the passage, p. 343. He swears by those who fell at Marathon, Plataea, Salamis, and Artemisium, that the Athenians did not err in defending, with unequal fortune, and against superior force, the public safety and liberty. Such passages, when detached, may appear extravagant and gigantic; but, as in the church of St. Peter's, where all is arranged with such admirable symmetry, that no figure appears beyond the natural size, so, in the works of Demosthenes, nothing appears monstrous, because all is great.

and lust of power, the orator concludes, “ For CHAP.
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such reasons, the senate and people of Athens, emulating the glory of their ancestors, to whom the liberty of Greece was ever dearer than the interest of their particular republic, and humbly revering the gods and heroes, guardians of the Athenian city and territory, whose aid they now implore, have resolved to send to the coast of Boeotia a fleet of two hundred sail, to march to Eleusis with their whole military strength, to dispatch ambassadors to the several states of Greece, and particularly to the Thebans, encouraging them to remain unterrified amidst the dangers which threaten them, and to exert themselves manfully in defence of the common cause, with assurance that the people of Athens, unmindful of old or later differences which have prevailed between the two republics, are determined and ready to support them with all their faculties and resources; their treasures, their navies, and their arms; well knowing, that to contend for pre-eminence with the Greeks is an honourable contest; but to be commanded by a foreigner, and to suffer a Barbarian to wrest the sovereignty from their hands, would tarnish their hereditary glory, and disgrace their country with the remotest ages of posterity.”

The same undaunted spirit which dictated this decree, attended the exertions of Demosthenes in his embassy to Thebes, in which he triumphed over the intrigues of Amyntas and Clearchus, and over the eloquence of Philon of Byzantium, the emissaries employed by Philip on this important

Demosthenes persuades the Thebans to join the standard of Athens.

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Prepara-
tions on
both sides
for the
battle of
Chæro-
næa.

occasion. The Thebans passed a decree for receiving with gratitude the proffered assistance of Athens; and the Athenian army, having soon after taken the field, were admitted within the Theban walls, and treated with all the flattering distinctions of ancient hospitality.²²

Meanwhile Philip having advanced towards the Bœotian frontier, his detached parties were foiled in two rencounters with the confederates. Regardless of these losses, to which, perhaps, he purposely submitted, as necessary stratagems to draw the enemy from their walls, he proceeded with his main body, thirty-two thousand strong, to the plain of Chæronæa. This place was considered by Philip as well adapted to the evolutions and exertions of the Macedonian phalanx; and the ground for his encampment, and afterwards the field of battle, were chosen with equal sagacity; having in view, on one side, a temple of Hercules, whom the Macedonians regarded as the author of their royal house, and the high protector of their fortune; and, on the other, the banks of the Thermodon, a small river flowing into the Cephissus, announced by the oracles of Greece as the destined scene of desolation and woe to their unhappy country.²³ The generals of the confederate Greeks had been much less careful to avail themselves of the powerful

²² Demosthenes, who furnishes the above narrative, avoids dwelling on the following melancholy events, which are related by Diodorus, l. xvi. p. 475. et seq. Plut. in Alexand. Strabo, l. ix. p. 414. Justin. l. ix. c. 3. & Pausanias Bœotic.

²³ Plut. in Vit. Demosth.

sanctions of superstition. Unrestrained by inauspicious sacrifices, the Athenians had left their city at the exhortation of Demosthenes, to wait no other omen but the cause of their country. Regardless of oracles, they afterwards advanced to the ill-fated Thermodon, accompanied by the Thebans, and the scanty reinforcements raised by the islands, and by such states of Peloponnesus as had joined their alliance. Their army amounted to thirty thousand men, animated by the noblest cause for which men can fight, but commanded by the Athenians Lysicles and Chares, the first but little, and the second unfavourably known; and by Theagenes the Theban, a person strongly suspected of treachery; all three creatures of cabal, and tools of faction, slaves to interest or voluptuousness, whose characters (especially as they had been appointed to command the only states whose shame, rather than virtue, yet opposed the public enemy) are alone sufficient to prove that Greece was ripe for ruin.

When the day approached for abolishing the tottering independence of those turbulent republics, which their own internal vices, and the arms and intrigues of Philip, had been gradually undermining for twenty-two years, both armies formed in battle array before the rising of the sun. The right wing of the Macedonians was headed by Philip, who judged proper to oppose in person the dangerous fury of the Athenians. His son Alexander, only nineteen years of age, but surrounded by experienced officers, commanded the left wing, which faced the Sacred Band of the

Alexander
routs the
Thebans.

CHAP. Thebans. The auxiliaries of either army were
XXXVI. posted in the centre. In the beginning of the
 action, the Athenians charged with impetuosity,
 and repelled the opposing divisions of the enemy;
 but the youthful ardour of Alexander obliged
 the Thebans ⁹⁴ to retire, the Sacred Band being
 cut down to a man. The activity of the young
 prince completed their disorder, and pursued the
 scattered multitude with his Thessalian cavalry.

Philip de-
 feats the
 Athenians.

Meantime the Athenian generals, too much
 elated by their first advantage, lost the oppor-
 tunity to improve it; for, having repelled the
 centre and right wing of the Macedonians, except
 the phalanx, which was composed of chosen men,
 and immediately commanded by the King, they,
 instead of attempting to break this formidable
 body, by attacking it in flank, pressed ⁹⁵ forward
 against the fugitives, the insolent Lysicles ex-
 claiming in vain triumph, "Pursue, my brave
 countrymen! let us drive the cowards to Mace-
 don." Philip observed this rash folly with con-
 tempt, and saying to those around him, "Our
 enemies know not how to conquer," commanded
 his phalanx, by a rapid evolution, to gain an ad-
 jacent eminence, from which they poured down,
 firm and collected, on the advancing Athenians,
 whose confidence of success had rendered them
 totally insensible to danger. But the resistless
 shock of the Macedonian spear converted their
 fury into despair. Above a thousand fell, two
 thousand were taken prisoners; the rest escaped

⁹⁴ Plutarch. in Alexand.

⁹⁵ Polyæn. Stratagem. l. iv. c. 2.

by a precipitate and shameful flight. Of the Thebans more were killed than taken. Few of the confederates perished, as they had little share in the action, and as Philip, perceiving his victory to be complete, gave orders to spare the vanquished, with a clemency unusual in that age, and not less honourable to his understanding than his heart; since his humanity thus subdued the minds, and gained the affections, of his conquered enemies.⁹⁶

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According to the Grecian custom, the battle was followed by an entertainment, at which the King, presiding in person, received the congratulations of his friends, and the humble supplications of the Athenian deputies, who craved the bodies of their slain. This request, which served as an acknowledgment of their defeat, was readily granted; but, before they availed themselves of the permission to carry off their dead, Philip, who with his natural intemperance, had protracted the entertainment till morning, issued forth with his licentious companions to visit the field of battle; their heads crowned with festive garlands, their minds intoxicated with the insolence of wine and victory; yet the sight of the slaughtered Thebans, which first presented itself to their eyes, and particularly the sacred band of friends and lovers, who lay covered with honourable wounds, on the spot where they had been drawn up to fight, brought back these insolent spectators to the sentiments of reason and humanity. Philip

Philip
visits the
field of
battle.

⁹⁶ Pausan, Achaic. Diodor. & Justin. ubi supra.

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beheld the awful scene with a mixture of admiration and pity; and, after an affecting silence, denounced a solemn curse against those who basely suspected the friendship of such brave men to be tainted with criminal and infamous passions.⁹⁷

His levity
reprimanded by
Demades.

But this serious temper of mind did not last long; for, having proceeded to that quarter of the field where the Athenians had fought and fallen, the King abandoned himself to all the levity and littleness of the most petulant joy. Instead of being impressed with a deep sense of his recent danger, and with dutiful gratitude to Heaven for the happiness of his escape, and the importance of his victory, Philip only compared the boastful pretensions, with the mean performances of his Athenian enemies; and struck by this contrast, rehearsed, with the insolent mockery of a buffoon, the pompous declaration of war lately drawn up by the ardent patriotism and too sanguine hopes of Demosthenes. It was on this occasion that the orator Demades at once rebuked the folly, and flattered the ambition of Philip, by asking him, Why he assumed the character of Thersites, when fortune assigned him the part of Agamemnon?⁹⁸

The different
treatment of
the Athenians
and Thebans.

Whatever might be the effect of this sharp reprimand⁹⁹, it is certain that the King of Macedon indulged not, on any future occasion, a vain triumph over the vanquished. When advised by his generals to advance into Attica, and to render

⁹⁷ Plutarch. in Pelopid.

⁹⁸ Idem in Demosthen.

⁹⁹ Plutarch ascribes to this smart observation, the moderation of Philip's subsequent conduct.

himself master of Athens, he calmly replied, CHAP.
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 “Have I done so much for glory, and shall I destroy the theatre of that glory?”¹⁰⁰ His subsequent conduct corresponded with the moderation of this sentiment. He restored, without ransom, the Athenian prisoners; who, at departing, having demanded their baggage, were also gratified in this particular; the King pleasantly observing, that the Athenians seemed to think he had not conquered them in earnest.¹⁰¹ Soon afterwards he dispatched his son Alexander, and Antipater, the most trusted of his ministers, to offer them peace on such favourable terms as they had little reason to expect. They were required to send deputies to the Isthmus of Corinth, where, to adjust their respective contingents of troops for the Persian expedition, Philip purposed assembling, early in the spring, a general convention of all the Grecian states: they were ordered to surrender the Isle of Samos, which actually formed the principal station of their fleet, and the main bulwark and defence of all their maritime or insular possessions; but they were allowed to enjoy, unmolested, the Attic territory, with their hereditary form of government, and flattered by the acquisition of Oropus, for which they had so long contended with the unhappy Thebans.¹⁰² It was not merely in being deprived of this city, that the Thebans experienced the indignation of the

¹⁰⁰ Plut. in Apoph.¹⁰¹ Idem, *ibid.*¹⁰² Pausanias *Bœotic.* Diodorus, *ubi supra.*

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conqueror. From the transactions between Macedon and Thebes, in the early part of his reign, Philip thought himself entitled to treat that people, not as open and generous enemies, whose struggle for freedom deserved his clemency, but as faithless and insidious rebels, who merited all the severity of his justice. He punished the republican party with unrelenting vigour; restored the traitors, whom they had banished, to the first honours of the republic; and, in order to support their government, placed a Macedonian garrison in the Theban citadel.¹⁰³

Causes
from
which it
proceeded.

In his opposite treatment of the two republics, Philip, it is probable, was swayed neither by affection nor hatred: his generosity and his rigour were alike artificial, and both directed by his interest. Besides the different characters of the Thebans and Athenians, which rendered the former as sensible to the impression of fear, as the latter were susceptible of gratitude and prone to eulogy, the Thebans had too long, and too early abandoned the cause of Greece, and too strenuously exerted themselves in establishing the power of Macedon, to acquire much reputation by one unsuccessful attempt to resist Philip, to which they had been at length roused less by their own public spirit or courage, than by the zeal and eloquence of Demosthenes. The Athenians, on the contrary, who from the beginning had opposed the views of this prince, though with

¹⁰³ Justin. l. ix. c. 4.

far less prudence and activity than their situation required; who, through the whole course of his reign, had continued to traverse his measures, and to spurn his authority; and who, previously to the last fatal encounter at Chæronæa, had endeavoured to form a general confederacy, and when that proved impossible, had determined, almost unassisted and alone, to resist the common foe, seemed entitled to such gratitude and applause, as compassion bestows on ill-directed valour and unfortunate patriotism; and the rigorous treatment of such a people must have shocked the sentiments, and exasperated the hatred, of every citizen of Greece, who yet retained the faintest tincture of ancient principles, or who was still animated by the smallest spark of public spirit.

Philip too well understood his interest, thus to tarnish the glory, and risk the fruits of victory, although the daring and imprudent behaviour of the Athenians, after the battle, might have served to justify the harshest measures. The first news of their defeat filled the city with tumult or consternation. But when the disorder ceased, the people shewed themselves disposed to place their whole confidence in arms, none in the mercy of Philip. Upon the motion of Hyperides¹⁰⁴, a decree passed for sending to the Piræus their wives, children, and most valuable effects, together with the sacred images and ornaments of their gods. By the same decree, the rights and freedom of the city were bestowed on strangers and slaves,

Daring
measures
of the
Athenians
after their
defeat.

¹⁰⁴ Plut. in Vita Hiperid.

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and restored to persons declared infamous, on this one condition, that they exerted themselves in the public defence. Demosthenes, with equal success, proposed a decree for repairing the walls and fortifications, a work which, being himself appointed to superintend, he generously accomplished at the expence of his private ¹⁰⁵ fortune. The orator Lycurgus undertook the more easy task of impeaching the worthless Lysicles, whose misconduct in the day of battle had been the immediate cause of the late fatal disaster. In a discourse calculated to revive the spirit of military enthusiasm, which had anciently animated the Athenians, the speaker thus warmly apostrophised the conscious guilt of the mute and trembling general: "The Athenians have been totally defeated in an engagement; the enemy have erected a trophy to the eternal dishonour of Athens; and Greece is now prepared to receive the detested yoke of servitude. You were our commander on that inglorious day; and still *you* breathe the vital air, enjoy the light of the sun, and appear in our public places, a living monument of the disgrace and ruin of your country." The quick resentment of the hearers supplied the consequence, and the criminal was dragged to execution.¹⁰⁶

Philip's
moderation
in
victory.

Neither the inflammatory decrees, nor the hostile preparations of Athens, could shake the moderation of Philip, or determine him to alter the favourable terms of accommodation, which he had already proposed by his ambassadors. The

¹⁰⁵ Demosth. de Corona.

¹⁰⁶ Diodor. l. xvi. p. 477.

patriotic or republican party, headed by the orators just mentioned, breathed hatred and revenge; but at the intercession of the Areopagus, which on this occasion acted suitably to the fame of its ancient wisdom, the prudent and virtuous Phocion¹⁰⁷ was appointed to the chief command. The discernment of this statesman and general, whose merit had been neglected while there was yet time to perform any essential service, might easily perceive the vanity of attempting to recover the honour of a people, who, antecedently to their defeat by Philip, had been still more fatally subdued by their own pernicious vices. Amidst the important events of the Macedonian war, and amidst the dreadful misfortunes which, in consequence of its melancholy issue, hung over their country, a set of Athenian citizens, distinguished by their rank and fortune, and known by the appellation of the Sixty, from the accidental number of their original institution, regularly assembled into a club, where all serious transactions were treated with levity and ridicule, and day after day spent in feasting, gaming, and the sprightly exercises of wit and pleasantry. This detestable society saw¹⁰⁸, without emotion, their countrymen arming for battle; with the most careless indifference they received accounts of their captivity or death; nor did the public calamities in any degree disturb their festivity, or interrupt, for a moment, the tranquil course of their pleasures.

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Extreme
corruption
of the
Athenians.

XV

¹⁰⁷ Plutarch, in Phocion.

¹⁰⁸ Athenæus, l. xiv. p. 614.

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Their fame having reached Macedon, Philip sent them a sum of money, to support the expence of an association so favourable to his views. But what opinion must Phocion have formed of such an establishment ; or how was it possible for any dispassionate man of ordinary prudence to expect, that a republic so totally degenerate, as to foster such wretches within its bosom, could successfully wage war against a vigilant and enterprising enemy ?

They determine to accept the terms of peace offered by Philip.

The arguments of the wisest portion of the community for accepting the peace proffered by Philip were strengthened and confirmed by the return of Demades with the Athenian prisoners taken at Chæronæa, who unanimously blazed forth the praises of their generous conqueror. Ambassadors were accordingly dispatched to the King of Macedon, to accept and ratify the treaty of peace, upon the terms which he had condescended to offer ; and the only marks of deference shewn to the violent party, who still clamoured for war, were, that Demochares, who ostentatiously affected a rude boldness of speech against Philip, was named among the ambassadors ; and that Demosthenes, the irreconcilable enemy of that prince, was appointed to pronounce the funeral oration in honour of those slain at Chæronæa.

Insolence of Demochares.

Demochares acquitted himself of his commission with that extravagant petulance which naturally flowed from his character ; and which, in the Grecian commonwealths, too frequently disgraced the decency of public transactions. At

their audience of leave, Philip, with less sincerity than politeness, lavished on the ambassadors his usual professions of friendship, and obligingly asked them, "Is there any thing farther in which I can gratify the Athenians?" "Yes," said Demochares, "hang thyself." The just indignation of all present broke forth against this unprovoked outrage; when Philip, with admirable coolness, silenced the clamour, by saying, "Let this ridiculous brawler depart unmolested;" and then turning to the other ambassadors, "Go, tell your countrymen, that those who can utter such contumelies are less just and moderate, than he who can pardon them."¹⁰⁹

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The honourable employment conferred on Demosthenes, which shewed that, notwithstanding the unfortunate issue of his counsels, the Athenians still approved his principles and his patriotism, might have been expected to elevate his sentiments and his language to the highest strain of eloquence. But the complexion of the times no longer admitted those daring flights to which he had been accustomed to soar; and the powers of the orator seem to have declined with the fortunes of his country. With too apparent caution he avoids the mention of all recent transactions, and dwells with tiresome minuteness on the ancient, and even fabulous, parts of the Athenian story. One transient flash of light breaks forth towards the end of his discourse, when, commemorating the glory of the

Oration of Demosthenes in honour of those slain at Chaeronea.

¹⁰⁹ Seneca de Ira.

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slain, he says, that the removal of those zealous republicans from their country was like taking the sun from the world¹¹⁰; a figure bold, yet just; since after the battle of Chæronæa, there remained no further hopes of resisting the conqueror — the dignity of freedom was for ever lost, and the gloom of night and tyranny descended and thickened over Greece.¹¹¹

¹¹⁰ Ὡσπερ γὰρ εἰ τις ἐκ τοῦ καθεστηκότος κόσμου τὸ φῶς ἐξέλοιτο, δυσ-
χερὲς καὶ χαλεπὸς ἅπας ὁ λειπομενὸς ἥμιν βίος· οὕτω τῶνδε ἀνδρῶν ἀναρεθάν-
των, ἐν σκοτει καὶ πολλῇ δυσκλείᾳ πᾶς ὁ πρῶτος ζῆλος τῶν Ἑλλήνων γε-
γυνε. p. 155. "For as if light were taken from the world, the re-
maining life of mortals would be involved in difficulties and misery;
so by the death of those warriors, the original glory of Greece was
buried in darkness and ignominy." Of this discourse, which Liba-
nius denies to be genuine, many passages are corrupt, and many in-
terpolated. The general debility of the whole may be explained by
the observation in the text, without having recourse to the defence
of Wolfius: "Orationem Libanius Demosthenis esse negat ut vilem
et imbecillam omnino. Quod quis miretur, cum et argumentum sit
imbecille?" Demosthen. edit. Wolf. p. 152.

¹¹¹ Hic dies universæ Græciæ, et gloriam dominationis, et vetus-
tissimam libertatem finivit. Justin. l. ix. c. 5. Demosthenes, Dio-
dorus, Strabo, and Pausanias, all express the same sentiment, and
nearly in the same words.

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Liberal Spirit of the Macedonian Government. — Philip appointed General of the Greeks. — Rebellion of Illyria. — Assassination of Philip. — His Character. — Accession of Alexander. — His Expedition against the Illyrians and Triballi. — He passes the Danube. — Rebellion in Greece. — Destruction of Thebes. — Heroism of Timoclea. — Alexander crosses the Hellespont. — State of the Persian Empire. — Battle of the Granicus. — Siege of Miletus and Halicarnassus. — Bold Adventure of two Macedonian Soldiers. — Alexander's judicious Plan of War. — Arts by which he secured his Conquests. — The Battle of Issus. — The Virtues of Alexander expand with his Prosperity.

THE Greeks acknowledged, with reluctance and sorrow, that by the decisive victory of Chæronæa, Philip became master of their ' country. But we should form a very erroneous notion of the Macedonian government, if we compared it with the despotism of the East, or the absolute

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Liberal
spirit of
the Macedonian
government.

¹ Demosth. Æschin. Diodor. Plutarch. Arrian, passim. I shall cite only the words of Strabo: "Χαιρωνεα δε επον Φιλιππος ο Αμυντου μεγαλης νικησας Αθηναίους τε και Βοιωτους και Κορινθίους, κατιζη της ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ κυριος." And Chæronæa, where Philip; the son of Amyntas, having conquered the Athenians, Bœotians, and Corinthians, in a great battle rendered himself master of Greece." Strab. Geograph. l. ix. p. 414.

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dominion of many European monarchs. The authority of Philip, even in his hereditary realm, was modelled on that admirable system of power and liberty, which distinguished and ennobled the *policies* of the heroic ages.² He administered the religion, decided the differences, and commanded the valour, of soldiers and³ freemen. Personal merit entitled him to hold the sceptre, which, being derived from Jove, could not long be swayed by unworthy hands. The superiority of his abilities, the vigilant and impartial justice of his administration, formed the main pillars of his prerogative; since, according to the principles and feelings of the Macedonians, he who infringed the rights of his subjects⁴, ceased from that moment to be a king.

Nature
and extent
of Philip's
authority
in Greece.

Having effected the conquest of Greece, the prudence of Philip could not be supposed ambitious of introducing into that country more severe maxims of government than those which prevailed in Macedon. He affected, on the contrary, to preserve inviolate the ancient forms of

* When Alexander, intoxicated with prosperity, claimed too exalted honours, he was told by Callisthenes the philosopher, “Οι προγονοι εξ Αργους εις Μακεδονιαν ηλθον, ουδε βια αλλα νόμω Μακεδονων αρχοντες διατελεσαν. Your ancestors came from Argos to Macedon, and continued there, governing the Macedonians, not by force, but by law.” Arrian. Exped. Alexand. p. 87.

² In capital cases, says Curtius, the soldiers judged in time of war, the citizens in time of peace. He then adds, “Nihil potestas regum valebat, nisi prius valuisset auctoritas;” scilicet populi. Curtius, l. x. c. 8. Conf. l. viii. c. 6.

⁴ A very mean subject literally told Philip, “If you refuse to do me justice, cease to be a king.” Plut. Apophth. Conf. Arist. politic. l. v. c. 10. Tit. Liv. l. xxxi. & xlv.

the republican constitution, and determined to govern the Greeks by the same policy with which he had subdued them. While Macedonian garrisons kept possession of Thermopylæ and the other strong holds of Greece, the faithful and active partisans of Philip controuled the resolutions, and directed the measures, of each particular republic. The superintendence of the sacred games, as well as of the Delphic temple, rendered him the only visible head of the national religion : in consequence of the double right of presiding and voting in the Amphictyonic council, he appeared in the character of supreme civil magistrate of Greece ; and his illustrious victory at Chæronæa over the only communities that opposed his greatness, pointed him out as the general best entitled to conduct the military force of Greece and Macedon in the long-projected invasion of Persia ; an office which, as he might have assumed it without blame, he therefore solicited with applause from the impartial suffrages of the people.⁵

That this condescension must have been highly flattering to the vanity of the Greeks, appears from the transactions at Corinth, where Philip, the year following the battle of Chæronæa, had assembled a general convention of the Amphictyonic states.⁶ In this assembly, Dius of Ephesus represented, with affecting energy, the vexations and oppression which the feeble colonies of

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Philip
named
general
of the
Greeks
Olymp.
cx. 4.
A. C. 337.

⁵ Diodor. l. xvi. p. 556. *Τὸν Ἑλλήνων ἰσομεγαν αὐτὸν στρατηγόν, &c.*

⁶ Diodor. l. xvi. p. 556.

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Asia daily experienced from the rapacious cruelty of the Persian satraps. The general voice of the assembly re-echoed his complaint, while each member recollected, with indignation, the continual outrages of a people who had anciently invaded their country, insulted their religion, burned their temples, and, not satisfied with these acts of vengeance, had reduced and oppressed their colonies, and uninterruptedly excited and nourished those cruel animosities which had long filled every part of Greece with sedition and blood.⁷ Philip had private wrongs to urge against the Persians, whose hatred and jealousy had, on several occasions, thwarted his measures and disturbed his government. Yet he insisted chiefly on their public injuries and notorious enmity to the whole Grecian name, the honour of which could only be redeemed by a successful expedition into Asia.

Amount
of their
forces.

This expedition was determined with universal consent. Philip was appointed general of the confederacy; and (although the Lacedæmonians sullenly absented themselves from the convention) when the several states came to ascertain the contingent of troops which they could respectively raise, the whole, exclusive of the Macedonians, amounted to two hundred and twenty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse⁸; a prodigious force, of which the domestic dissensions of the Greeks had hitherto, perhaps, prevented them from forming an adequate notion.

⁷ Isocrat. Orat. ad Philip.

⁸ Justin. l. ix. c. 5.

On no former occasion had the several republics appeared so thoroughly united in one common cause; never had they shewn themselves so sensible of their combined strength; never had they testified such general alacrity to take the field, or such unlimited confidence in the abilities of their commander.

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It belongs to the biographers of the King of Macedon to examine the circumstances of the bloody transaction which clouded this glorious prospect. In the general history of Greece, it is sufficient to mention, that Philip, having dispatched Parmenio with a body of troops to protect the Asiatic colonies, was prevented from immediately following that commander by an insurrection of the Illyrian tribes.⁹ This unseasonable diversion from the greatest enterprise of his reign, was rendered more formidable by the domestic discord which shook the palace of Philip. A spirit less proud and jealous than that of Olympias, mother of Alexander, might have been justly provoked by the continual infidelities of her husband, who, whether at home or abroad, in peace or in war, never ceased to augment the number of his wives or concubines.¹⁰ The generous mind of Alexander must naturally have espoused the cause of his mother, although his own interest had not been deeply concerned in preventing Philip from continually giving him so many new rivals to the throne. The young prince defended the rights of Olympias and his own,

The expedition retarded by a rebellion in Illyria, and domestic dissensions in Macedon. Olymp. cxi. 1. A. C. 336.

⁹ Diodor. ad Olymp.

¹⁰ Athenæus, l. xiii. p. 558.

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with the impetuosity natural to his character : at the nuptials of Philip with Cassandra, niece to Attalus, one of his generals and favourites, an open rupture broke out between the imperious father and his more haughty son ¹¹ ; and the latter concluding all those to be his own friends who were enemies to the former, sought refuge among the rebellious Illyrians, who were already in arms against their sovereign.

Philip extricates himself from these difficulties. Olymp. cxi. 1.
A. C. 336.

The dexterity of Philip extricated him from these difficulties. Having conquered the Illyrians, he softened Alexander by assuring him that his illustrious merit, which was alike admired in Greece and Macedon, had not escaped the anxious vigilance of a parent, who, by giving him many rivals to the throne, had only given him an opportunity of surpassing them all in glory and in the merited affections of the ¹² Macedonians. Soothed by this condescension, Olympias and her son again appeared at court with the distinction due to their rank : and, to announce and confirm this happy reconciliation with his family, Philip married his beloved daughter Cleopatra to the King of Epirus, maternal uncle of Alexander ; and celebrated the nuptials by a magnificent festival which lasted several days, during which the Greeks and Macedonians vied with each other in shewing their obsequious respect towards their common general and master.

Is assassinated in going to the theatre.

Amidst the tumultuous amusements of the festivity, Philip often appeared in public with un-

¹¹ Plutarch. in Alexander.

¹² Plut. Apophth.

guarded confidence in the fidelity and attachment of all his subjects : but proceeding one day from the palace to the theatre, he was stabbed to the heart by Pausanias¹³, a Macedonian ; whether the assassin was stimulated merely by private resentment, or prompted by the ill-appeased rage of Olympias, or instigated to commit this enormity by the Persian satraps ; which last is asserted by Alexander¹⁴, who alleged the assassination of his father among his reasons for invading the Persian empire.

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Thus fell Philip of Macedon, in the forty-seventh year of his age and twenty-fourth of his reign ; the first prince whose life and actions history hath described with such regular accuracy, and circumstantial fulness, as render his administration a matter of instruction to succeeding ages. With a reach of foresight and sagacity peculiar to himself, he united all the prominent features of the Grecian character ; valour, eloquence, address, flexibility to vary his conduct without changing his purpose, the most extraordinary powers of application and perseverance, of cool combination and ardent execution. Intercepted in the middle of his career by the hand of an assassin, he was prevented from undertaking the justest and noblest design of his reign ; a design which he had long meditated, and in which his near prospect of success promised to reward the labours and dangers of his toilsome life. Had not he fallen unexpectedly by a premature fate,

His character.

¹³ Diodor. & Justin. ubi supra.

¹⁴ Arrian. l. ii. c. 5. & Curtius, l. iv. c. 1.

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there is good reason to believe that he might have subdued the Persian empire ; an enterprise more dazzling, but less difficult, than the exploits which he had already achieved. Had that event taken place, the arduous undertakings of his long, and successful reign would have been ennobled and illuminated by the splendour of extensive foreign conquest ; Philip would have reached the height of such renown as is obtained by the habits of activity, vigilance, and fortitude in the pursuit of unbounded greatness ; and, in the opinion of posterity, would perhaps have surpassed the glory of all kings and conquerors, who either preceded or followed him. Yet, even on this supposition, there is not any man of sense and probity, who, if he allows himself time for serious reflection, would purchase the imagined grandeur and prosperity of the King of Macedon, at the price of his artifices and crimes ; and to a philosopher, who considered either the means by which he had obtained his triumphs, or the probable consequences of his dominion over Greece and Asia, the busy ambition of this mighty conqueror would appear but a deceitful scene of splendid misery.

Difficulties
attending
the acces-
sion of
Alexander
to the Ma-
cedonian
throne.
Olymp.
cxi. 1.
A. C. 336.

A prince who is his own minister, and almost the sole depository of his own secrets, commonly leaves an arduous task for the labours of his successor. This difficulty presented itself to Alexander ; but it was not the only circumstance that rendered his situation difficult. The regular order of succession had never been clearly established in Macedon, and was in some measure incompatible with the spirit of royal government, which,

as then generally understood, required such qualities and accomplishments in the first magistrate, as could not be expected from a promiscuous line of hereditary princes. The numerous wives of Philip had, however, been most fruitful in female offspring. Nor had Alexander much to apprehend from the rivalry of his brothers, since Ptolemy, born of Arsinoë, and afterwards King of Egypt, was reputed to be the son of Lagus, to whom Philip had married Arsinoë, while she was with child by himself; and Ari-dæus, the son of Philina, who, for six years after the death of Alexander, held a pageant royalty in the East through the glory of his brother's name, and the discordant ambition of his lieutenants, possessed not vigour of mind eagerly to dispute the succession. But Alexander's title was contested by Amyntas, son to Perdiccas, the elder brother of Philip, in whose name the last-mentioned prince originally administered the government, till the tender age of Amyntas being rejected by the Macedonians, Philip so little feared the revival of his pretensions to the throne, that he had given him his daughter Cyna in marriage. This new advantage strengthened the claim of Amyntas, which, it was probable, would be warmly supported by Attalus, a bold and enterprising commander, the personal enemy of Olympias and her son, of whom the former had recently put to death his kinswoman Cleopatra, with shocking circumstances of cruelty. Alexander privately took measures with his friends

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He is acknowledged general of the Greeks in an assembly of the states at Corinth.

His character displayed in his conversation with Diogenes the cynic.

for crushing these dangerous enemies¹⁵; and, being acknowledged King of Macedon, hastened into Greece, to reap the fruits of his father's labours, which might be lost by delay.

In his journey thither, he experienced the perfidious inconstancy of the Thessalians, whom he chastised with proper severity; and having assembled the deputies of the states at Corinth, he was invested with the same honours¹⁶ which had been conferred on his predecessor. During his residence in that city there happened an incident which more clearly displays the character of Alexander than can be done by the most elaborate description. Curiosity led him to visit Diogenes the cynic, whose singular manners and mode of life have been mentioned on a former occasion. He found him basking in the sun¹⁷, and, having made himself known as the master of Macedon and Greece, asked the philosopher what he could do to oblige him? "Stand from between me and the sun," was the answer of the cynic: upon which the King observed to his attendants, "that he would choose to be Diogenes¹⁸ if he were not Alexander." The observation was natural and sublime; since, under the most dissimilar veils of external circumstances and pursuits, their characters concealed a real resemblance. Both possessed that proud erect spirit which disdains

¹⁵ Diodorus, l. xvii. 2. et seq. & Justin. xi. 1. et seq.

¹⁶ Idem, *ibid.*

¹⁷ Pausan. l. ii. p. 88.

¹⁸ Laertius in Vit. Diogen.

authority, spurns controul, and aspires to domineer over fortune. But, by diminishing the number of his wants, Diogenes found, in his tub, that independence of mind, which Alexander, by the unbounded gratification of his desires, could not attain on the imperial throne of Persia.

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Alexander, having returned to Macedon, prepared for his eastern expedition by diffusing the terror of his name among the northern Barbarians. The Illyrians and Triballi, mindful of the injuries of Philip, had hastily taken arms to oppose, ere it became too late, the youth and inexperience of his son. But the discernment of the young prince readily perceived the danger of leaving such formidable enemies on his frontier. With a well-appointed army he marched from Amphipolis, and, leaving the city Philippi and Mount Orbelus on the left, arrived in ten days at the principal pass of Mount Hæmus, which led into the territory of the Triballi. There he found a new, and not less formidable enemy. The independent tribes of Thrace, having embraced the cause of the Triballi, had seized an eminence commanding the pass; and, instead of a breast-work, had fortified themselves with their carriages or waggons, which they purposed to roll down on the Macedonians. To elude the force of this unusual battery, Alexander commanded such of his troops as could not conveniently open their ranks, and allow free issue to the intended violence, to fall flat on the ground, and carefully close their shields, that the descending waggons might, harmless, bound over them. In conse-

His expedition
against the
Illyrians
and Triballi.
Olymp.
cxi. 2.
A. C. 335.

He defeats
the independent
tribes of
Thrace.

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The Tri-
balli take
refuge in
Peucé.

Alexander
passes the
Danube;

quence of this contrivance, the hostile artillery was exhausted in vain. Alexander then attacked the Thracians with admirable order and celerity. Fifteen hundred fell; their swiftness and knowledge of the country saved the greater number. The prisoners, women, and booty, were sent for sale to the maritime cities on the Euxine.¹⁹

Alexander having committed this subordinate business to Lysanius and Philotas, passed the mountains, and pursued the Triballi. By galling them with his bowmen and slingers, he gradually forced them from their fastnesses, and defeated a powerful body of their warriors encamped on the woody banks of the Liginus, distant three days' march from the Danube. The remainder of the nation; conducted by the valour of their chieftain Syrmus, and reinforced by a numerous band of Thracians, took refuge in Peucé, an island in the Danube, defended by abrupt and rugged banks, surrounded by deep and foaming streams. Alexander, though he had just received some ships of war from Byzantium, judged it too hazardous to assault the island; and the hostile appearance of the Getæ on the northern bank, furnished him with an honourable pretence for declining the siege of Peucé. On the margin of the Danube, that audacious people had drawn up four thousand horse, and above ten thousand foot, showing, by their countenance and demeanour, a determined resolution to oppose the landing of an enemy. Provoked by those signs of defiance, and

¹⁹ Arrian, *Alexand. Expedit.* l. i. p. 2. et seq.

animated by the glory of passing the greatest of all European rivers, and that which was surrounded with the greatest and most warlike nations, Alexander filled the hides used in encampment with straw and other buoyant materials, and collected all the boats employed by the natives of those parts in fishing, commerce, or piracy. Amidst the darkness of the ensuing night, he thus transported fifteen hundred cavalry, and four thousand infantry, to that part of the opposite bank which was covered with high and thick corn. At the dawn of day, he commanded his foot to march through those rich fields²⁰ with tranversed spears; while the infantry remained concealed in the corn, the cavalry followed them; but as soon as the former emerged into the naked plain, the horse advanced to the front, and both suddenly presenting an irresistible object of terror, the Getæ abandoned their post, and fled to their city, which was four miles distant. There, they at first purposed to make a vigorous defence; but perceiving that Alexander cautiously skirted the river, to avoid the danger of an ambush, reflecting on his astonishing boldness in passing, without a bridge, the Danube in one night, and beholding the impenetrable firmness of his phalanx, and the resistless impetuosity of his cavalry²¹, they regarded

²⁰ Πλαγίαις ταις σαρίσσαις επικλυαντες τον σπον. The spears were tranversed, not only for the purpose of concealment, "but to make a road through the corn."

²¹ φοβερα δε τη: φαλαγγος ή ξυγκλασει, καια δε ή των ιππων αμολη, Arrian, p. 4. Alexander knew the proper use of cavalry, which was so little understood in the last century, that the three ranks fired successively before the charge; each, after firing, passing, by a caracol,

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farther opposition as vain, forsook their habitations, and retired precipitately, with their wives and children, into the northern desert.²²

The Macedonians entered, and sacked the town. The spoil was entrusted to Philip and Meleager; Alexander, mindful of so many favours, returned sacrifices of thanks to Jupiter, Hercules, and the god of the Danube; and, encamping on the northern bank of the river, received very submissive embassies from the surrounding nations. Even Syrmus, the intrepid leader of the Triballi, sent propitiatory presents, and readily obtained pardon from a prince, who could admire virtue in a Barbarian and an enemy.²³

receives
the sub-
mission of
the neigh-
bouring
nations.

Necessity alone compelled Alexander to carry his arms into those inhospitable regions. Animated by an ambition to subdue the Asiatic plains, he turned with contempt from bleak heaths and barren mountains, not deigning to chastise the boastful arrogance of the Celtæ. The Boii and Senones, Celtic or German tribes (for those nations were often confounded by the Greeks), sent ambassadors to Alexander, who, observing their lofty stature and haughty spirit, endeavoured to humble them by asking, "what, of all things, they most feared?" not doubting, they would answer "yourself;" but they replied, "the fall of heaven."

behind the rest. Gustavus Adolphus allowed only his first rank to fire; which was doubtless a great improvement, and paved the way for reducing the service of cavalry to its true principle, what Arrian calls "*ἡ βία αὐτῆς ἐμβολῇ*."

²² Arrian, l. i. p. 3. et seq.

²³ Idem, ibid.

The King declared them his friends and allies, but whispered to those around him, "the Celtæ are an arrogant people."²⁴ Could we admit the truth of this narrative, and believe that ambassadors were really sent to Alexander by the nations inhabiting the northern recesses of the Ionian gulph, it would be interesting to observe the early character and first proceedings of a people, who were destined to subdue the conquerors of the Macedonian empire.

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In his return towards Pella, Alexander marched through the friendly country of the Pæonians, where he received the unpleasant intelligence that the Illyrian tribes were in arms, headed by Clitus, son of Bardyllis, the hereditary foe of Macedon. Glaucias, King of the Taulantii, prepared to join the arms of Clitus; the Autariadæ, likewise an Illyrian nation, had determined to obstruct the march of Alexander. Amidst these difficulties, he was encouraged by Langarus, chief of the Agrians, a warlike tribe inhabiting the ridges of Mount Hæmus. Even in the lifetime of Philip, Langarus²⁵ had discerned the superior merit of his son, with whom he had early entered into a confidential correspondence. Conducted by the activity of Langarus, the Agrian targeteers, who thenceforth had an important share in all the Macedonian victories, invaded the country of the Autariadæ. Their ravages were equally rapid and destructive; the Autariadæ,

Alexander
reduces
the Tau-
lantii, and
other Illy-
rian
tribes.

²⁴ Arrian, l. i. p. 5. & Strabo, l. vii. p. 208. & 209.

²⁵ Λαγγαρος . . . και Φιλίππου ζώντος ασπάζομενος Αλεξάνδρον δηλος ην, και ιδία επρεσθενσε παρ' αυτον. Arrian, p. 5.

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broken by domestic calamity, or alarmed by personal danger, abandoned the design of co-operating with the enemies of Alexander. That prince thus advanced without opposition to Pellion, the principal strong-hold of the Illyrians. His army encamped on the banks of the Eordai-cus. The enemy were posted on the adjacent mountains, and concealed among thick woods, purposing to attack the Macedonians by a sudden and united assault. But their courage failed them in the moment of execution. Not daring to wait the approach of the phalanx, they precipitately retreated to their city, leaving behind them the horrid vestiges of their bloody superstition, three boys, three maids, and as many black rams, which, having just sacrificed, they wanted time to remove.²⁶

Meanwhile Glaucias, King of the Taulantii, approached with a great force²⁷ to relieve Pellion, and assist his ally. Alexander had dispatched Philotas to forage at the head of a strong body of cavalry. Glaucias attempted to intercept and cut off this detachment. Alexander, leaving part of his army to awe Pellion, marched to the assistance of Philotas; Clitus reinforced Glaucias; a decisive action thus seemed inevitable, if the thickness of lofty forests, and the intricacies of winding mountains, had afforded a proper scene for a general engagement. The

²⁶ Arrian, p. 5.

²⁷ Μεγα πωλλης δυναμεις. Idem, p. 6. Neither Thrace nor Illyria were remarkably populous in those days; but as every man was a soldier, the princes of those countries often brought numerous armies into the field.

Barbarians excelled in knowledge of the country; the Macedonians in skill and courage. The war was widely diffused, and ably supported. But the discipline of Alexander finally prevailed. By surprise, by stratagem, by the terror of his military engines, which destroyed at a distance, and by such prompt and skilful manœuvres²⁹ as had never been before seen on the banks of the Apsus³⁰ and Erigonè, he totally dispersed this immense cloud of Barbarians. Many were slain, and many made captive; a remnant, having burnt their city, which they despaired of ability to defend, sought refuge among the Taulantian mountains.³⁰

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Meanwhile a report circulated in Greece, that Alexander had perished in Illyria; and as men's belief is often guided by their interest³¹, this vague rumour was greedily embraced by the partisans of Grecian independence. The Athenian demagogues resumed their usual boldness; the Lacedæmonians already fancied themselves heading the revolt³²; but the first acts of rebellion were committed by the Thebans, who, having secretly recalled their exiles, treacherously³³ mur-

Rebellion
in Greece.
Olymp.
cxi. 2.
A. C. 335.

²⁹ Those are laboriously described by Arrian, p. 6., who, it must be acknowledged, appears sometimes too fond of displaying his skill in tactics.

³⁰ Otherwise called the Eordaicus.

³¹ Arrian, p. 7.

³² Οὐ γινώσκοντες τὰ ὄντα, τὰ μάλιστ' ἔδοξεν σφίσιν εἰκαζόν.
“Not knowing the truth, hope regulated their conjectures.” Idem, p. 8.

³³ The Lacedæmonians, says Arrian, were γυναικῶς ἀφεστηκότες, “revolted in their minds.”

³⁴ They seized them without the garrison, οὐδὲν ὑποπτεήσαντας πολεμῶν, “suspecting no hostility.”

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Destruction of
Thebes.
Olymp.
cxi. 2.
A. C. 335.

dered Amyntas and Timolaus, commanders of the Cadmæa, and prepared to expel the Macedonian garrison from that fortress.

Alexander, when apprised of these proceedings, relinquished the pursuit of the Barbarians, descended by rapid marches along the western frontier of Macedon, traversed Thessaly, entered Bœotia, and in the space of fourteen days after hearing the first news of the rebellion, besieged and demolished Thebes. The decisive boldness of this measure has been highly extolled by historians, because nothing could have a more direct tendency to quash the seditious spirit of the Greeks, than the rapid punishment of Thebes, which at once filled the neighbouring cities with pity and with terror. A spectacle of that dreadful kind was necessary, it has been said, to secure the future tranquillity of Greece and Macedon, and to enable Alexander to undertake his Persian expedition, without the danger of obstruction from rebellions in Europe.³⁴ But, notwithstanding this sagacious reflection, it appears that the destruction of Thebes was the

³⁴ Plut. Diodor. Justin. Among the moderns, Mably sur les Græcs, and the learned author of the Examen des Historiens d'Alexandre, who says, p. 46., " Alexandre devoit assurer sa domination dans la Grèce par quelque coup d'eclat, avant que de passer en Asie; la revolte de Thebes lui presenta une occasion favorable à ses vues." Yet Arrian, whose narrative was copied from the relation of eyewitnesses, expresses, thrice in the same page, the reluctance of Alexander to attack the Thebans. Εκδιδόνς ἐτι τοῖς Θηβαίοις τριθῆν, εἰ μεταγινόντες ἐπὶ τοῖς κακῶς ἐγνωσμένοις, πρὸς θευσάωντο παρ' αὐτοῦ. And again, Ἐτι γὰρ τοῖς Θηβαίοις διὰ φιλίας ἔλθειν μᾶλλον τι ἢ διὰ κινδύνου ᾔθνη. And still to the same purpose, Ἀλεξάνδρος δὲ οὐδὲ ὡς τῇ πάλαι προσέβαλεν. Arrian, p. 8.

effect, not of policy, but of obstinacy and accident. In approaching that unfortunate city, Alexander repeatedly halted, to allow the insurgents time to repent of their rashness. The wiser part of the Thebans proposed to embrace the opportunity of sending ambassadors to crave his pardon. But the exiles and authors of the sedition encouraged the multitude to persevere; and, instead of showing remorse for their past crimes, sent forth their cavalry and light infantry, who assaulted and slew several of the Macedonian outguards.³⁵

Exasperated by these insults, Perdiccas, commander of an advanced party, attacked the Theban wall, without waiting the orders of Alexander. A breach was speedily effected; the brigade of Perdiccas was followed by that of Amyntas, son of Andromenes; but both were so warmly received by the enemy, that Alexander saw the necessity of reinforcing them, lest they should be surrounded and cut off. The Thebans were then repelled in their turn; but soon rallying, beat back the assailants, and pursued them with disordered ranks. Alexander then seized the decisive moment for advancing with a close phalanx. His assault was irresistible. The Thebans fled amain; and such was their trepidation, that having entered their gates, they neglected to shut them against the pursuers. The Macedonians, and their Greek auxiliaries, thus rushed tumultuously into the place. A

The occasion and circumstances of that event.

³⁵ Arrian, p. 8. et seq.

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XXXVII.

Cruelty of
the Greek
auxilia-
ries.

dreadful slaughter ensued. The Phocians, Orchomenians, and Platæans, rejoiced at gaining an opportunity to gratify their implacable resentment against Thebes. The greater part of the citizens, exceeding thirty thousand in number³⁶, were either put to the sword or dragged into captivity. A feeble remnant escaped to Athens. The ancient city of Cadmus was rased to the ground; but the citadel was still garrisoned by Macedonian troops, and long maintained as a convenient post for overawing the adjacent territory.

A few acts
of mercy,
owing to
Alexander.

The severities exercised against Thebes were reluctantly permitted by Alexander, at the instigation of his Grecian auxiliaries.³⁷ The few acts of forbearance or mercy, which appeared in this lamentable transaction, flowed from the humanity of his own nature. By his particular orders, the house and family of Pindar were saved from the general desolation. He commanded likewise, that the sacred families should be spared, as well as those connected with Macedon by the ties of hospitality; and, as he is the only great conqueror who built many more towns than he destroyed, he took care that the demolition of Thebes should be immediately followed by the restoration of Orchomenus and Platæa. Even the gloomiest events of his reign were distinguished by some flashes of light, that dis-

³⁶ According to the lowest computation, Thebes at that time contained above thirty thousand citizens. Comp. Diodor. Plut. ibid. Ælian. Var. Hist. l. xiii. c. 7. Agatharchid. apud Phot. Bibl. 1337.

³⁷ Diodor. l. xvii. p. 569.

played his magnanimity. It happened in the sack of Thebes, that a band of fierce Thracians broke into the house of Timoclea, an illustrious Theban matron, the ornament of her sex. The soldiers plundered her house; their brutal commander violated her person. Having gratified his lust, he was next stimulated by avarice, and demanded her gold and silver. She conducted him to a garden, and showed him a well, into which she pretended to have thrown her most valuable treasure. With blind avidity, he stooped to grasp it, while the woman, being behind, pushed him headlong into the cistern, and covered him with stones. Timoclea was seized by the soldiers, and carried in chains to Alexander. Her firm gait, and intrepid aspect, commanded the attention of the conqueror. Having learned her crime, Alexander asked her, "Who she was, that could venture to commit so bold a deed?" — "I am," replied she, "the sister of Theagenes, who fell at Chæronæa, fighting against Philip in defence of Grecian freedom." Alexander admired both her action and her answer, and desired her to depart free with her children.³⁸

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Heroism
of Timo-
clea.

While Alexander returned towards Macedon, he received many congratulatory embassies from the Greeks. Those affected most friendship in their speeches, who had most enmity in their hearts. The Athenians sent to deprecate his wrath against themselves, and to excuse their compassionate treatment of the Theban fugitives. Alexander demanded the persons of Demos-

Alexander
receives
the con-
gratula-
tory em-
bassies of
the
Greeks.

³⁸ Plut. de Vit. Alexand. p. 7.

C H A P. thenes, Lycurgus, Hyperides, and five other
XXXVII. orators, to whose inflammatory speeches he ascribed the seditious spirit that had recently prevailed in Athens. An assembly was immediately summoned to deliberate on this demand; and a decree unanimously passed for trying the orators accused by Alexander, and for inflicting on them such punishment as their offences should appear to merit. This pretended forwardness in the Athenians to avenge his quarrel, was highly agreeable to Alexander. The artful decree, which was immediately transmitted to him, became still more acceptable through the bearer Demades, an avowed friend to Macedon, whom the party of Demosthenes bribed with five talents to undertake this useful service.³⁹ Amidst the various embassies to the King, the Spartans alone preserved a sullen, or magnanimous silence. Alexander treated them with real, or well-affected contempt; and, without deigning to require their assistance, prepared for the boldest and noblest enterprise ever undertaken by the Grecian confederacy.

Transac-
 tions in
 Macedon,
 previous
 to Alex-
 ander's
 expedition
 to the
 East

The arrival of the army in Macedon was celebrated with all the pomp of an elegant superstition. A faithful image of the Olympic solemnity was exhibited in the ancient city of *Ægæ*. Continual games and sacrifices were performed in *Dium*,

³⁹ The circumstances of this transaction are differently related by all the authors who mention it. Compare Diodorus, l. xvii. p. 498. *Æschin.* in *Ctesiphont.* *Plut.* in *Vit. Alexand. & Arrian.* l. i. p. 11. In military affairs *Arrian's* authority stands unrivalled; but *Æschines*, a contemporary orator, must have been better informed concerning the civil transactions of the Athenians.

during the space of nine days, in honour of the Muses. Alexander entertained at his table the ambassadors of the Grecian states, together with the principal officers of his army, whether Greeks or Macedonians. In the interval of public representations, he discoursed with his confidential friends concerning the important expedition which chiefly occupied his thoughts. Parmenio and Antipater, the most respected of his father's counsellors, exhorted him not to march into the East, until by marriage, and the birth of a son, he had provided a successor to the monarchy. But the ardent patriotism of Alexander disdained every personal consideration. He remembered that he was elected general of the Greeks, and that he commanded the invincible troops of his father.⁴⁰

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Olymp.
cxi. 1.
A. C. 334.

Having entrusted to Antipater the affairs of Greece and Macedon, and committed to that general an army of above twenty thousand⁴¹ men, to maintain domestic tranquillity in those countries, he departed early in the spring, at the head of above five thousand horse, and somewhat more than thirty thousand infantry.⁴² In twenty days' march he arrived at Sestos, on the Hellespont. From thence the army was conveyed to Asia, in an hundred and sixty galleys, and probably a still greater number of transports. The armament landed without opposition on the

Alexander
crosses the
Helles-
pont with
his army.
Olymp.
cxi. 3.
A. C. 334.

⁴⁰ Diodor. l. xvii. p. 499.

⁴¹ Diodorus, who enters into some detail on this subject, says, twelve thousand infantry, and eleven thousand five hundred cavalry.

⁴² Arrian, p. 12.

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XXXVII.

State of
the Per-
sian em-
pire.

Asiatic coast; the Persians, though long ago apprised of the intended invasion, having totally neglected the defence of their western frontier.

The causes of this negligence resulted, in some degree perhaps, from the character of the prince, but still more from that of the nation. Codomanus had been raised by assassinations and intrigues to the throne of Persia, about the same time that Alexander succeeded his father Philip. The first year of his reign had been employed in stifling domestic rebellion, in securing, and afterwards in displaying, the fruits of victory. This prince assumed the appellation of Darius, but could not recall the principles or manners which distinguished his countrymen, during the reign of the first monarch of that name. In the space of about two hundred and thirty years, the Persians had been continually degenerating from the virtues which characterise a poor and warlike nation, without acquiring any of those arts and improvements, which usually attend peace and opulence. Their empire, as extended by Darius Hystaspes, still embraced the most valuable portion of Asia and Africa. The revenue paid in money was still estimated, as during the reign of that monarch, at fourteen thousand five hundred and sixty Eubœic talents. Immense treasures had been accumulated in Damascus, Arbela, Susa, Persepolis, Ecbatan, and other great cities of the empire. The revenue paid in kind cannot be appreciated; but such was the extraordinary opulence of this great monarchy, that the conquests of Alexander are supposed to have given him an income of sixty

millions sterling⁴³; a sum which will admit of every allowance for exaggeration, and still appear sufficiently great.

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Although the extravagance and vices of Susa, Babylon, and other imperial cities, corresponded to the extent and wealth of the monarchy, yet the Persians were prepared for destruction rather by their ignorance of the arts of peace and war, than by their effeminacy and luxury. The provinces, moreover, had ceased to maintain any regular communication with the capital, or with each other. The standing military force proved insufficient to keep in awe the distant satraps or viceroys. The ties of a common religion or language, or the sense of a public interest, had never united into one system this discordant mass of nations, which was ready to crumble into pieces at the touch of an invader. When, to these unfavourable circumstances, we join the reflection that, under the younger Cyrus, twelve thousand Greeks baffled the arms, and almost divided the empire of Persia, our admiration will diminish for the magnanimity of Alexander in undertaking his eastern expedition; unless we are at the same time apprised, that Darius was deemed a brave and generous prince, beloved by his Persian subjects, and assisted by the valour of fifty thousand Greek mercenaries.⁴⁴

Circumstances which prepared it for destruction.

Having arrived in Asia, Alexander, than whom none ever employed more successfully the power of superstition⁴⁵, confirmed the confidence

Deliberation of the Persian satraps.

⁴³ Justin. xiii. 1.

⁴⁴ Arrian, Diodorus, and Curtius.

⁴⁵ Plut. Curtius, and Arrian, *passim*.

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of his followers by many auspicious predictions and prodigies. While, with every military precaution, he pursued his march along the coast, Arsites, Spithridates, Memnon, and other governors of the maritime provinces, assembled for deliberation in the town of Zeleia, in Troas, distant sixty miles from the Hellespont. They had neglected to oppose the invasion by their superior fleet; they had allowed the enemy to encamp, unmolested, on their coasts; fear now compelled them to reluctant union; but jealousy made them reject the most reasonable plan of defence.

Judicious
advice of
Memnon,

This was proposed by Memnon the Rhodian, the ablest general in the service of Darius. He observed the danger of resisting the Macedonian infantry, who were superior in number, and encouraged by the presence of their King. That the invaders, fiery and impetuous, were now animated by hope, but would lose courage on the first disappointment. Destitute of magazines and resources, their safety depended on sudden victory. It was the interest of the Persians, on the other hand, to protract the war; above all, to avoid a general engagement. Without risking the event of a battle, they had other and surer means to check the progress of the invaders. For this purpose, they ought to trample down the corn with their numerous cavalry, destroy all other fruits of the ground, and desolate the whole country, without sparing the towns and villages. Some rejected this advice, as unbecoming the dignity of Persia⁴⁶; Arsites, governor of Lesser

rejected.

⁴⁶ *Ἀναξίων της Περσῶν μεγαλαφύχιας*, "Unworthy the magnanimity of Persia." Diodor. p. 501.

Phrygia, declared proudly, that he would never permit the property of *his* subjects to be ravaged with impunity. These sentiments the more easily prevailed, because many suspected the motives of Memnon. It was determined, therefore, by this council of princes, to assemble their respective forces with all possible expedition, and to encamp on the eastern bank of the Granicus, a river (midway between Zeleia and the Hellespont) which, issuing from Mount Ida, falls into the Propontis.

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The scouts of Alexander having brought him intelligence of the enemy's design, he immediately advanced to give them battle. The phalanx marched by its flank in a double line⁴⁷, the cavalry on the wings, the waggons and baggage in the rear. The advanced guard, consisting of horsemen armed with pikes, and five hundred light infantry, the whole commanded by Hegelochus, were detached to examine the fords of the Granicus, and to observe the disposition of the enemy. They returned with great celerity, to acquaint Alexander, that the Persians were advantageously posted on the opposite bank, their horse amounting to twenty thousand, and their foreign mercenaries, drawn up on the slope of a rising ground, behind the cavalry, scarcely less numerous. Notwithstanding this alarming intelligence, the young prince determined to pass the river. Having ad-

Alexander
prepares
to pass the
Granicus.
Olymp.
cxi. 3.
A. C. 334.

⁴⁷ The δειλη φάλαγξ is explained in this sense by Ælian and Arrian. In ordinary cases the phalanx marched by its flank, that is, with a front of sixteen men. The δειλη φάλαγξ, therefore, contained a front of thirty-two men.

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Rejects
the cautious
counsels of
Parmenio.

vanced within sight of the hostile ranks, his horse spread to the right and left, the massy column of infantry opened, and the whole formed along the bank in order of battle. The phalanx, divided into eight sections, composed the main body, which occupied the centre; the Macedonian cavalry formed the right wing; the Grecian, the left.

While Alexander made these dispositions, the cautious Parmenio approached, and remonstrated against passing the Granicus in the face of an enemy. The river, he observed, was deep and full of eddies; its banks abrupt and craggy; "it would be impossible, therefore, to march the Macedonians in line, and if they advanced in columns, their flanks must be exposed naked and defenceless. To try such dangerous manœuvres seemed unnecessary in the present juncture, because the Barbarians would certainly quit their station in the night, rather than remain encamped in the neighbourhood of so formidable an army." These prudential considerations prevailed not with Alexander, who declared that, in the first conflict, the Macedonians must act with equal promptitude and vigour, and perform something worthy of the terror which they bore. Saying this, he sprung on his horse, assumed the command of the right wing, and committed the left to Parmenio.

Battle of
the Gra-
nicus.
Olymp.
cxi. 3.
A. C. 334.

Animated by the hope of soon closing with the enemy, he disdained to employ his military engines. The balistas and catapults, by which, in a similar situation, he had repelled the Taulantii, were rejected as tedious or ineffectual. Alexander

distributed his orders; a dreadful silence ensued; the hostile armies beheld each other with resentment or terror. This solemn pause was interrupted by the Macedonian trumpet, which, on a signal given by Alexander, resounded from every part of the line. His brother Ptolemy, as had been previously regulated, then rode forth at the head of a squadron of cuirassiers⁴⁸, followed by two bodies of light dragoons, and a battalion of infantry commanded by Amyntas. While these troops boldly entered the Granicus, Alexander likewise advanced with the chosen cavalry on the right wing, followed by the archers and Agrians. In passing the river, both Alexander and Ptolemy led their troops obliquely down the current, to prevent as much as possible, the Persians from attacking them in flank, as they successively reached the shore. The Persian cavalry behaved with courage; the first squadrons of the Macedonians were driven back into the stream. But Alexander, who animated the *companions*⁴⁹ with his voice and arm, maintained his ground on the bank, and thought he had gained the battle, when he obtained an opportunity of fighting. In the equestrian combat which followed, the Macedonians owed much to their skillful evolutions

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⁴⁸ I have used this word to express those troops which the Greeks called *Cataphracts*, from the completeness of their defensive armour. Milton mentions them in *Sampson Agonistes*.

“ Archers and slingers, *Cataphracts* and spears.”

⁴⁹ The eight squadrons of chosen cavalry, which were of that kind called *Cataphracts*, were honoured with the name of *Companions* and friends of the King. Arrian & Diodor. *passim*.

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Personal
prowess of
Alexander
and the
Macedo-
nian cap-
tains.

and discipline⁵⁰; still more to their strength and courage; and not a little to the excellence of their weapons, which being made of the cornel-tree⁵¹, far surpassed the brittle javelins of the enemy.

Meanwhile Parmenio crossed the Granicus, at the head of the left wing, with equal success, but unequal glory, because Alexander had already proved, by his example, that the difficulty might be overcome, which would have otherwise appeared insurmountable. The attention of the enemy was so deeply engaged by the successive attacks of the cavalry, that they seem not to have made much opposition to the passage of the phalanx. But before this powerful body of infantry had crossed the river, the Macedonian horse had already reaped the fairest honours of the field. Alexander animated them by his presence, and, after discharging the duties of a great general, performed such personal acts of prowess as will be more readily admired than believed by the modern reader. But in the close combats of antiquity, the forces, when once thoroughly engaged, might be safely abandoned to the direction of their own resentment and courage, while the commanders displayed the peculiar accomplishments to which they had been trained from their youth, in the more conspicuous parts of the

⁵⁰ They derived great advantages, particularly from the light infantry intermixed with their squadrons. The targeteers and Agrians proved extremely useful in helping the Macedonians to keep off the Persian cavalry, which, when too near, hindered them from the proper use of their lances.

⁵¹ At Myrtus validis hastilibus et bona bello
Cornus.

VIRG. GEORG. II. v. 447.

field. Alexander was easily distinguished by the brightness of his armour, and the admirable alacrity of his attendants. The bravest of the Persian nobles impatiently waited his approach. He darted into the midst of them, and fought till he broke his spear. Having demanded a new weapon from Aretes, his master of horse, Aretes shewed him his own spear, which likewise was broken. Demaratus the Corinthian supplied the King with a weapon. Thus armed, he rode up, and assaulted Mithridates, son-in-law to Darius, who exulted before the hostile ranks. While Alexander beat him to the ground, he was himself struck by Ræsaces with a hatchet. The firmness of his helmet saved his life. He pierced the breast of Ræsaces; but a new danger threatened him from the scimitar of Spithridates. The instrument of death already descended on his head, when Clitus cut off the arm of Spithridates, which fell with the grasped weapon.

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The heroism of Alexander animated the valour of the *companions*, and the enemy first fled where the King commanded in person. In the left wing, the Grecian cavalry must have behaved with distinguished merit, since the Persians had begun on every side to give way, before the Macedonian infantry had completely passed the river.⁵² The stern aspect of the

The Persians defeated.

⁵² Guischart, p. 208. says, " Aussitôt que la phalange fut en état d'agir contre l'ennemie, avec tout son front hérissé de piques, la victoire cessa d'être douteuse." It appears not, however, that the phalanx at all acted against the Persian cavalry. The battle of Granicus

CHAP. phalanx, shining in steel and bristling with spears,
 XXXVII. confirmed the victory. Above a thousand Persian horse were slain in the pursuit. The foot, consisting chiefly in Greek mercenaries, still continued in their first position, not firm but inactive, rapt in fixed wonder, not steady through resolution.⁵³ While the phalanx attacked them in front, the victorious cavalry assailed their flanks. Surrounded on all sides, they fell an easy prey: two thousand surrendered prisoners, the rest all perished, unless a few stragglers perchance lurked among the slain.

Loss on
 both sides.

The battle of the Granicus proved fatal to most of the Persian commanders. Arsites, the chief adviser of the engagement, died in despair by his own hand. The generals Niphates and Petenes, Omares leader of the mercenaries, Spithridates satrap of Lydia, Mithrobuzanes governor of Cappadocia, Mithridates son-in-law of Darius, and Arbupales son of Artaxerxes, were

was entirely an equestrian engagement, as had been prophesied to Alexander by his namesake, a priest of Minerva in the Troade. See Diodor. l. xvii. p. 571.

⁵³ Εκπλήξει μάλλον τι του παραλογου, η λογισμω, θεωωσιν. Arrian. It might be suspected that the Greek mercenaries were not very hearty in the Persian cause, and had delayed declaring themselves till they beheld the issue of the equestrian engagement. This is conjectured by Guischart in his admired *Memoires Militaires*, p. 308. But the fidelity of their countrymen to Darius on all subsequent occasions, as well as the severe treatment which they met with in the present battle, seem sufficient to remove that dishonourable suspicion. Their conduct, seemingly unaccountable, is ascribed, by Arrian, to their astonishment, that Alexander's cavalry should have passed the Granicus, and repelled the Persian horse, four times more numerous than his own.

numbered among the slain. Such illustrious names might lead us to suspect, that the Persians were still more numerous than Arrian "represents them : and, notwithstanding the nature of ancient weapons and tactics, which rendered every battle a rout, and commonly prevented the retreat of the vanquished, it is scarcely to be believed, that in such an important engagement, Alexander should have lost only eighty-five horsemen, and thirty light infantry.⁵⁵ Of the former, twenty-five belonged to the royal band of Companions. By command of Alexander, their statues in bronze were moulded by the art of his admired Lysippus⁵⁶, and erected in the Macedonian city of Dium.

This important victory enabled Alexander to display both his humanity and his prudence. He declared the parents and children of the deceased thenceforth exempted from every species of tribute.⁵⁷ He carefully visited the wounded, attentively asked how each of them had received

Humanity
and prudence
of Alexander.

⁵⁴ Diodorus, l. xvii. p. 572. makes them amount to one hundred and ten thousand. Justin is quite extravagant. The Persians, he says, were six hundred thousand.

⁵⁵ Others diminished the loss to thirty-five horsemen and nine foot soldiers. Aristobul. apud Plut. in Vit. Alexand.

⁵⁶ Arrian says, ὅσπερ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρον μόνος προκρίβεις ποιεῖ. "Who was alone preferred to make the image of Alexander." This, doubtless, increased the honour conferred on the Companions. Arrian would have spoken more accurately, had he said, "to cast the figure of Alexander in bronze." Other artists represented him in marble, in gems, medals, &c. of which hereafter.

⁵⁷ Arrian distinguishes τῇ σωματικῇ λειτουργίᾳ; καὶ κατὰ τὰς κτήρας εἰσφορῆς, personal services; and contributions, in proportion to their property.

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harm, and heard with patience and commendation their much-boasted exploits. The Persian commanders were interred; and the Greeks, both officers and soldiers. The Grecian captives were condemned to work in the Thracian mines, as a punishment for bearing arms against the cause of their country. But even this severity Alexander softened by a very seasonable compliment to the Athenians, whose city he preferred to be the repository of his trophies and renown. Immediately after the battle, he sent three hundred suits of Persian armour, as dedications to Minerva in the citadel. This magnificent present was inscribed with the following words: "Gained by Alexander, son of Philip, and the Greeks (except the Lacedæmonians), from the Barbarians of Asia." It is remarkable, that on this occasion he omits mention of the Macedonians, whether because he wished them to be comprehended under the name of Greeks; or because, in the Persian war, he always affected rather to avenge the cause of Greece, than to gratify his own ambition; or, finally, that the Greeks being thus exclusively associated to his honours, might thenceforth continue zealous in making new levies for his service.

Immediate
consequence of
the victory.

The battle of the Granicus opened to Alexander the conquest of Ionia, Caria, Phrygia; in a word, all the Asiatic provinces west of the river Halys, which had anciently formed the powerful monarchy of the Lydians. Many of the walled towns surrendered at his approach. Sardes, the

splendid capital of Croesus, opened its gates to a deliverer, and once more recovered its ancient laws and municipal government, after reluctantly enduring, above two centuries, the cruel yoke of Persia. The Grecian cities on the coast were delivered from the burden of tribute and the oppression of garrisons; and, under the auspices of a prince, who admired their pristine glory in arts and arms, resumed the enjoyment of their hereditary freedom. During the Persian expedition of Alexander, the Ephesians were still employed in rebuilding their temple, which had been set on fire by Herostratus, twenty years before that period, and on the same night, it is said, which gave birth to the destined conqueror of the East. Alexander encouraged their pious and honourable undertaking; and, in order to accelerate its progress, commanded the tribute which had been paid to the Persians, to be appropriated to the temple of Diana.⁵⁸

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Miletus and Halicarnassus alone retarded the progress of the conqueror. The latter place, commanded by Memnon the Rhodian, made a memorable defence. Alexander had scarcely sat down before it, when the garrison, consisting of Greeks and Persians, sallied forth, and maintained a desperate conflict. Having repelled them with much difficulty, he undertook the laborious work of filling up a ditch thirty cubits broad, and fifteen deep, which the besieged, with incredible diligence, had drawn round their

Siege of
Miletus
and Hali-
carnassus.

⁵⁸ Comp. Arrian, p. 18. & Strab. p. 949.

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Bold ad-
venture of
two Mace-
donian
soldiers.

wall. This being effected, he advanced wooden towers, on which the Macedonians erected their battering engines, and prepared to assault the enemy on equal ground. But his labours were interrupted by a nocturnal sally; a second engagement was fought with still greater fury than the first; three hundred Macedonians were wounded, darkness preventing their usual precaution in guarding their bodies.⁴⁰

A few days afterwards, Halicarnassus, which had so obstinately resisted skill and courage, was on the point of yielding to rashness and accident. The battalion of Perdiccas happened to be posted on that side of the wall, which looked towards Miletus. Two soldiers, belonging to this corps, while they supped together in their tent, boasted their military exploits; each, as usual, preferring his own. Wine heated their emulation. They rushed forth to assault the wall of Halicarnassus, animated less with the mad hope of victory, than by an ambition to display their respective prowess. The centinels perceived their audacity, and prepared to repel them; but they killed the first man who approached, and threw javelins at others who advanced in succession. Before their boldness was overwhelmed by numbers, many soldiers belonging to the same battalion hastened to their relief. The Halicarnassians, also, reinforced their friends; a sharp conflict ensued; the garrison was repelled; the wall, attacked; two towers and the intervening curtain thrown

⁴⁰ Arrian, p. 20.

down; and had greater numbers joined in the assault, the town must have been taken by storm.⁶⁰

The humanity of Alexander rendered him unwilling to come to that extremity. But the extraordinary success of such an unpremeditated enterprise, engaged him to ply the walls with new vigour. The defence was as obstinate as before; two desperate sallies were made, and repelled with consummate bravery. Alexander's tenderness for the Halicarnassians prevented him from entering the place with an enraged and licentious soldiery. He therefore recalled his troops in the moment of victory, hoping that the besieged would finally surrender, and thus save their lives and properties. From the various breaches in the walls, and the numbers who had perished, or been wounded, in repeated conflicts, Memnon and his colleagues perceived, that much longer resistance was impossible. In this emergency they displayed the same decisive boldness which had appeared in every part of their defence. Having summoned the bravest of their adherents, they, in the night-time, set fire to a wooden tower, which they had erected for defence against the shocks of the enemy's engines, and for protection to their arsenal and magazines, and escaped to two neighbouring castles of great strength. About midnight, Alexander perceived the raging flames, and immediately sent a detachment to punish those who had excited, or who fomented, the conflagration; but with strict orders to spare such of the townsmen as

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Halicarnassus taken and reluctantly demolished.

Olymp. cxi. 3.

A. C. 334.

⁶⁰ Arrian, p. 32.

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were found in their houses. Next day, he examined the castles, and perceived that they could not be taken without much loss of time or blood ; but that, independently of the town, they were not in themselves of any value ; circumstances which obliged him, reluctantly, to demolish Halicarnassus, that it might never thenceforth serve as a retreat to his enemies.⁶¹

Alexander
commits
the go-
vernment
of Caria
to Ada.

The inactive season of the year was employed by Alexander in securing and improving his advantages. The inferior cities were committed to the discretion of his lieutenants ; the King in person visited his more important conquests ; and few places were honoured with his presence without experiencing his bounty. Before leaving Caria, where the siege of Halicarnassus long detained his impatient activity, he committed the administration to Ada, the hereditary governess of that province. Ada was the sister, and the wife of Hidrieus, on whose decease she was entitled to reign, both by the Carian laws and those of Upper Asia, where female succession had been established ever since the age of Semiramis. But the great King, with the usual caprice of a despot, had rejected the just claim of Ada, and seated a pretender on her tributary throne. The injured princess, however, still maintained possession of the strongly fortified city Alinda. When Alexander appeared in Caria, Ada hastened to meet him, addressed him by the name of son, and voluntarily surrendered

⁶¹ Arrian, p. 23.

to him Alinda. The King neither rejected her present, nor declined her friendship ; and, as he always repaid favours with interest, he committed to her, at his departure, the government of the whole province, and left a body of three thousand foot and two hundred horse, to support her authority.

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The measures of Alexander were equally decisive and prudent. The Persian fleet, supplied by Egypt, Phœnicia, and the maritime provinces of Lower Asia, four times out-numbered his own, which, small as it was, still appeared too expensive for his treasury. Alexander determined to discharge it, declaring to his lieutenants, that, by conquering the land, he would render himself master of the sea, since every harbour that surrendered to him must diminish the naval resources of the enemy.⁶² Agreeably to this judicious plan of conquest, he pursued his journey through the southern provinces of the Asiatic peninsula, while Parmenio traversed the central countries of Lydia and Phrygia. At the same time Cleander was dispatched into Greece to raise new levies ; and such soldiers as had married shortly before the expedition, were sent home to winter with their wives ; an indulgence which extremely endeared Alexander to the army, and ensured the utmost alacrity of his European subjects, in furnishing supplies towards the ensuing campaign.

His judi-
cious plan
of war.

⁶² It will appear in the sequel how faithfully Alexander adhered to this plan of war, which kept open his communication with Greece and Macedon, and enabled him to pursue, with security, his conquests in the East.

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The arts
by which
he secured
his con-
quests.

Accompanied by such winning arts, the valour and prudence of Alexander seemed worthy to govern the world. His conduct, perhaps, often proceeded from the immediate impulse of sentiment; but it could not have been more subservient to his ambition, had it been invariably directed by the deepest policy. After the decisive battle of the Granicus, he experienced little obstinacy of resistance from the numerous forts and garrisons in Lower Asia. The tributary princes and satraps readily submitted to a milder and more magnanimous master; and the Grecian colonies on the coast eagerly espoused the interest of a prince who, on all occasions, avowed his partiality for their favourite institutions. In every province or city which he conquered, he restored to the Asiatics their hereditary laws; to the Greeks, their beloved democracy. While he allowed them to assume the forms of independent government, he was careful to bridle the animosity of domestic faction. Into whatever country he marched, he encouraged useful industry, and alleviated public burdens. His taste and his piety alike prompted him to repair the sacred and venerable remains of antiquity. He considered the Barbarians, not as slaves, but as subjects; the Greeks, not as subjects, but allies; and both perceived in his administration such equity and lenity as they had never experienced either from the despotism of Persia, or from the domineering ambition of Athens and Sparta. ⁶³

⁶³ Compare Plut. in Alexand. Curtius & Arrian, passim; & Thucyd. Xenoph. Isocrat. & Diodor.

Having received the submission of Xanthus, Patara, Phaselis, and above thirty other towns or sea-ports in Lycia, Alexander, probably for the sake of greater expedition, divided the corps under his immediate command. A considerable detachment traversed the Lycian and Pamphilian mountains, while the King in person, pursued the still more dangerous track, leading along the sea-coast from Phaselis to Perga. On this foaming shore, the sea commonly beats against the rocks, and renders the passage impracticable, unless when the waves are repelled by a strong north wind. When Alexander began his march the wind blew from the south. Yet he advanced fearless, confiding in his fortune. His troops cheerfully followed him, encouraged by many artful prodigies⁶⁴ which announced success to his undertaking. The event which next happened, was well fitted to strengthen their credulity, and confirm their implicit obedience. Before they had reached the

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Singular
felicity of
Alexander's
march
from Pha-
selis to
Perga.

⁶⁴ While Alexander deliberated whether he should march forwards to attack Darius, a measure which promised glory and plunder to his troops, or proceed along the sea-coast, and reduce the maritime cities, which would prevent the enemy from profiting of his absence in Upper Asia, to conquer Greece or Macedon with their fleet, a fountain near the city Xanthus in Lycia boiled up, and threw out a copper-plate, engraved with ancient characters, signifying that the time was come when the Persian empire should be overthrown by the Greeks. Plutarch adds, *τοὺς τοὺς ἐπαρθεῖς, πύργον τῆς παραλίου ἀνακαθίσταται*. "Encouraged by this prodigy, he hastened to subdue the coast." It would perhaps have been more worthy of an historian to say, "Encouraged by this prodigy, the Greeks and Macedonians readily obeyed the commands of their prudent, not less than valiant general."

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main difficulties of the pass, the south wind gradually ceased; a brisk gale sprang up from the north; the sea retired; and their march thus became alike easy and expeditious. The authentic evidence of Arrian explains the marvellous in this occurrence, which Josephus inconsiderately compares with the passage of the Israelites over the Red Sea. Yet even the philosophical Arrian acknowledges, that the many concurring instances of good fortune in the life of Alexander, seemed to be produced by the immediate interposition of Divine power, which, in effecting an important revolution in the Eastern world, rendered the operations of nature, and the volitions of men, subservient to the secret purposes of its providence.

In proceeding eastward from Perga, Alexander was met by ambassadors from Aspendus, the principal city and sea-port of Pamphylia. The Aspendians offered to surrender their city, but entreated, that they might not be burdened with a garrison. Alexander granted their request, on condition of their raising fifty talents to pay his soldiers, and delivering to him the horses which they reared as a tribute for Darius. The ambassadors accepted these terms; but their countrymen, who were distinguished by their ambition and rapacity, still more than by their commerce and their wealth, discovered no inclination to fulfil them. Alexander was informed of their treachery, while he examined the walls of Syllius, another strong-hold of Pamphylia. He immediately marched towards Aspendus, the

greater part of which was situate on a high and steep rock, washed by the river Eurymedon. Several streets, however, were likewise built on the plain, surrounded only by a slight wall. At the approach of Alexander, the inhabitants of the lower part of the town ascended the mountain. Alexander entered the place, and encamped within the walls. The Aspendians, alarmed by the apprehension of a siege, intreated him to accept the former conditions. He commanded them to deliver the horses, as agreed on; to pay, instead of fifty, an hundred talents; and to surrender their principal citizens as securities, that they would thenceforth obey the governor set over them; pay an annual tribute to Macedon; and submit to arbitration a dispute concerning some lands which they were accused of having unjustly wrested from their neighbours.⁶⁵

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He punishes the treachery of Aspendus.

Having chastised the insolence and treachery of Aspendus, Alexander determined to march into Phrygia, that he might join forces with Parmenio, whom he had commanded to meet him in that country. The new levies from Greece and Macedon were likewise ordered to assemble in the same province; from which it was intended, early in the spring, to proceed eastward, and achieve still more important conquests. To reach the southern frontier of Phrygia, Alexander was under the necessity of traversing the inhospitable mountains of the warlike Pisidians. Amidst those rocks and fastnesses, the Macedonians lost several

Alexander enters Phrygia. Olymp. cxi. 4. A. C. 333.

⁶⁵ Arrian, p. 26.

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His adven-
ture at
Gordium.

brave men; but the undisciplined fury, and unarmed courage, of the Pisidians, was unable to check the progress of Alexander. The city of Gordium in Phrygia was appointed for the general rendezvous. This place is distant about seventy-five miles from the Euxine, and two hundred and forty from the Cilician sea; and was famous, in remote antiquity, as the principal residence of the Phrygian kings, and the chief seat of their opulence and grandeur.⁶⁶ Alexander had not long arrived in that place, when a desire seized him of ascending to the ancient castle or palace of Gordius, and of beholding the famous knot on his chariot, which was believed to involve the fate of Asia. Gordius, as the story went, was a man of slender fortune among the ancient Phrygians, who had but a small piece of land, and two yokes of oxen, one of which he employed in the plough, and the other in the waggon. It happened to Gordius, while he was one day ploughing, that an eagle alighted on his yoke, and sat on it till evening. Alarmed by the prodigy, Gordius had recourse to the Telmessians, a people inhabiting the loftiest mountains⁶⁷ in Pisidia, and celebrated over all the neighbouring countries for their skill in augury. At the first village of the Telmessians, he met a virgin drawing water at a fountain, to whom having communicated his er-

⁶⁶ See vol. i. c. vii. p. 290.

⁶⁷ Arrian, p. 27. calls it *υπερψηλον, και παντη αποτομον*. "Exceedingly high and every where abrupt." But in Gordius's time, at least, the Telmessians must have possessed some villages on the plain. See Arrian, p. 30.

rand, she ordered him to ascend the hill, and there sacrifice to Jupiter. Gordius intreated her to accompany him, that the sacrifice might be performed in due form. She obeyed. Gordius took her to wife. She bore him a son, Midas, who, when he arrived at manhood, was distinguished by his beauty and valour. It should seem that the father of Midas had, in consequence of his marriage, settled among the Telmessians, with whose arts his son would naturally become acquainted. The Phrygians, at that time, were harassed by cruel seditions; they consulted an oracle, who told them, that a chariot should soon bring them a King, who would appease their tumults. While the assembly still deliberated on the answer given them by the oracle, Midas arrived in his chariot⁶⁹, accompanied by his parents. The appearance of Midas justified the prediction, and announced him worthy of royalty. The Phrygians elected him King; their seditions ceased; and Midas, in gratitude to Jupiter, consecrated his father's chariot, and suspended it by a cord made of the inner rind of the cornel-tree, the knot of which was so nicely tied, that no eye could perceive where it began or ended. Whether Alexander untied, or cut the knot, is left uncertain by historians⁷⁰; but all agree that his followers retired with complete conviction that he

⁶⁹ The Greek word *ἀμαξα* expresses either a chariot or a waggon. Perhaps neither the name, nor the thing, were then distinguished in Phrygia. Curtius tells us this *ἀμαξα* was "cultu haud sane a vilioribus vulgatisque usu abhorrens," l. ii. c. i. p. 10.

⁷⁰ Curtius, l. iii. c. i. says, he cut it with his sword. Plutarch says he untied it. Vit. Alexand. p. 1236. Arrian gives both accounts;

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Treachery
of Alexander,
the
son of
Æropus.

had fulfilled the oracle. A seasonable storm of thunder confirmed their credulity⁷⁰; and the belief, that their master was destined to be lord of Asia, could not fail to facilitate that event.

The rapid progress of Alexander, and his continual exertions during that season of the year when armies are little accustomed to keep the field, tends to heighten our surprise at the inactivity of Darius, an ambitious prince, who had signalised his valour against the fiercest nations of Asia. But Darius, corrupted by the honours of royalty, employed very different weapons against Alexander, from those by which the champion of Ochus had defeated the warlike chief of the Cardusians.⁷¹ Instead of opposing the invader in the field, he hoped to destroy him by the arm of an assassin. Many traitors were suborned for this infamous purpose, but none with greater prospect of success than Alexander, the son of Æropus. This man owed his life to the clemency of the son of Philip, when his brothers Heromenes and Arrabæus were condemned as accessory to the murder of that prince. He was numbered among the companions of Alexander, and had recently been entrusted with the command of the Thessalian cavalry, after the nomination of Calas,

and the latter on the authority of Aristobulus, which is therefore the more probable.

⁷⁰ Arrian, p. 31.

⁷¹ Darius killed a warrior of that nation who challenged the bravest of the Persians to single combat. This exploit gained him the government of Armenia, and made him be afterwards deemed worthy of the Persian throne. Diodor. l. xvii. p. 565.

who held that high office, to the government of Phrygia. The promise of ten thousand talents, and of the kingdom of Macedon, obliterated his gratitude and seduced his allegiance. But his treason escaped not the vigilance of ⁷² Parmenio, who communicated the intelligence to his master, while encamped in the neighbourhood of Phaselis. By the same faithful minister, the unworthy son of Æropus was seized, and committed to safe custody.

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Darius, without desisting from his intrigues, finally had recourse to arms. His troops were assembled in the plains of Babylon. They consisted of an hundred thousand Persians, of whom thirty thousand were cavalry. The Medes supplied almost half that number, and the Armenians almost as many as the Medes. The Barcani, the Hyrcanians, the inhabitants of the Caspian shores, and nations more obscure or more remote, sent their due proportion of cavalry and infantry for this immense army, which, including thirty thousand Greek mercenaries in the Persian service, is said to have amounted to six hundred thousand

The army
of Darius
marches
from Up-
per Asia.

⁷² According to Arrian, p. 25. a swallow shared the honour with Parmenio. While Alexander was asleep at mid-day, the swallow hovered around his head, perching sometimes on one side of his couch, and sometimes on another. Its incessant chattering roused the King from sleep: but being exceedingly fatigued, he gently removed the bird with his hand. Instead of endeavouring to escape, the swallow perched on his head, and ceased not being extremely noisy and troublesome, till he thoroughly awoke. The prodigy was immediately communicated to Aristander the Telmessian soothsayer, who declared that a conspiracy was formed against the King by one of his domestics and friends; but that it would certainly be discovered, because the swallow is a domestic bird, a friend to man, and exceedingly loquacious.

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men. The magnificence of the Persians had not diminished since the days of Xerxes; neither had their military knowledge increased. Their muster was taken by the same contrivance employed by that monarch.⁷³ Ten thousand men were separated from the rest, formed into a compact body, and surrounded by a palisade. The whole army, passing successively into this inclosure, were rather measured than numbered, by their generals. Nothing could exceed the splendour that surrounded Darius; the trappings of his horses, the rich materials and nice adjustment of his chariot, the profusion of jewels which covered his royal mantle, vest, and tiara. The dress and even the armour of his guards, were adorned with gold, silver, and precious stones. He was attended by his family, his treasures, and his concubines, all escorted by numerous bands of horse and foot. His courtiers and generals copied, as usual, too faithfully, the effeminate manners of their master.⁷⁴

Alexander
passes the
northern
Gate of
Cilicia.

While this pageant, for it deserves not the name of army, slowly advanced towards Lower Asia, Alexander left Gordium, and marched to Ancyra, a city in that part of Phrygia afterwards called Galatia. In that place, he received an embassy from the Paphlagonians, who surrendered to him the sovereignty of their province, but intreated that his army might not enter their borders.

⁷³ See vol. i. c. ix. p. 419. et seq.

⁷⁴ *Propinquorum, amicorumque, conjuges, huic agmini proximæ.*
Q. Curtius, l. iii. c. 3. & Diodor. l. xvi. p. 580.

He granted their request, and commanded them to obey Calas, satrap of Phrygia. Alexander then marched victorious through Cappadocia; and Sabictas being appointed to the administration of that extensive province, the army encamped at the distance of six miles from the Cilician frontier, at a place which, since the memorable expedition performed and described by Xenophon, retained the name of Cyrus's camp. Towards the south, the rich plain of Cilicia is washed by the sea, and surrounded on three sides by lofty and almost impervious mountains. Arsames, governor of that country, had sent a body of troops to guard a post called the Gates, and the only pass which leads from Cappadocia into Cilicia. Apprised of this measure, Alexander left Parmenio and the heavy-armed troops in the camp of Cyrus. At the first watch of the night, he led the targeteers, archers, and Agrians, to surprise the Persian forces stationed at the northern Gate of Cilicia. The Barbarians fled on his approach; and the pusillanimous Arsames, to whom the whole province was entrusted by Darius, prepared to plunder, and then abandon, his own capital of Tarsus. But he had only time to save his person. The rapidity of Alexander prevented the destruction of that city, where the inhabitants received him as their deliverer.

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At Tarsus, Alexander was detained by a malady occasioned by excessive fatigue; or, as others say, by imprudently bathing, when heated, in the cold waters of the Cydnus, which flows through that

Falls sick
at Tarsus.

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Alexander
marches to
Mallos.

city, in a clear and rocky channel.⁷⁵ Philip, the Acarnanian, was the only person who despaired not of his life. While this skilful physician administered a draught to his royal patient, a letter came from Parmenio, warning Alexander to beware of Philip, who had been bribed by Darius to poison him. Alexander took the potion, and gave Philip the letter; so that the physician read, while the King drank; a transaction which proved either his contempt of death, or his unshaken confidence in his friends; but which, by the admiration of his contemporaries and posterity⁷⁶, has been construed into a proof of both.

The sickness of Alexander interrupted not the operations of the army. Parmenio was dispatched to seize the only pass on Mount Amanus, which divides Cilicia from Syria. The King soon followed, having in one day's march reached Anchialos, an ancient city of vast extent, and surrounded with walls of prodigious thickness. The greatest curiosity of Anchialos was the tomb of Sardapalus, distinguished by the statue of that effeminate tyrant, in the attitude of clapping his hands; and by an Assyrian inscription, breathing the true spirit of *modern* Epicurism. The original ran in verse to the following purpose: "Sardanapalus, son of Anacyndaraxas, built Anchialos and Tarsus in

⁷⁵ Curtius gives another reason for its excessive coldness: "*Frigidissimus quippe nulla riparum amœnitate inumbratus*," l. iii. c. iv. From his laboured description of this river, it seems as if he imagined *that* water must have possessed very extraordinary qualities, which could do harm to Alexander.

⁷⁶ See Arrian, p. 32. Curtius, l. iii. c. 5.

one day. As to you, stranger! eat, drink, and sport⁷⁷, for other human things are not worth *this*," alluding to the clap of his hands.⁷⁸

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Having arrived at Mallos, an Argive colony at the eastern extremity of Cilicia, Alexander learned that Darius lay with his army in the extensive plain of Sochos, in the province of Comagene, distant only two days' march from the Cilician frontier. The hostile armies were separated by the mountains which divide Cilicia and Syria. Alexander hastened to pass the straits called the Syrian Gates, proceeded southwards along the bay of Issus, and encamped before the city Mariandrus. At this place he received a very extraordinary piece of intelligence. His delay in Cilicia, which had been occasioned by sickness, and by the many pious ceremonies⁷⁹ with which he gratefully thanked Heaven for his recovery, was ascribed to very different motives by Darius and his flatterers. That perfidious race, the eternal bane of kings⁸⁰, easily persuaded the vain credulity of their master, that

Alexander passes the Syrian straits; and Darius, in an opposite direction, the defiles of Amanus.

⁷⁷ The word translated "sport," is *παίζει* in Arrian, p. 32. But that author says, the Assyrian original had a more lascivious meaning, Plut. Orat. ii. de Fortun. Alexand. translates it *αφροδισιαζε*, "veneri indulge."

⁷⁸ Mr. de Guignes, so deservedly celebrated for his Oriental learning, proves this inscription to be entirely conformable to the style and manners of the East. See Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscript. tom. xxxiv. p. 416, et seq.

⁷⁹ Processions with lighted torches, sacrifices to Æsculapius, gymnastic and musical contests. Arrian, l. ii. p. 35.

⁸⁰ Arrian expresses this sentiment with more than his usual energy: *των κατα ιδιον ζωντων τε και ζυνεσμενων επι κακῃ τοις αιεσι βασιλευσιν.*

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Alexander shunned his approach. The proud resentment of Darius was exasperated by the imagined fears of his adversary: with the impatience of a despot he longed to come to action; and not suspecting that Alexander would traverse the Syrian Gates in search of the enemy, he hastily determined to pass, in an opposite direction⁸¹, the straits of Amanus, in quest of Alexander. This fatal measure was carried into immediate execution, notwithstanding the strong representations of Amyntas⁸² the Macedonian, and of all Darius's Grecian counsellors⁸³, who unanimously exhorted him to wait the enemy in his present advantageous position. In the language of antiquity⁸⁴, an irresistible fate, which had determined that the Greeks should conquer the Persians, as the Persians had conquered the Medes, and the Medes the Assyrians, impelled Darius to his ruin. Having passed the defiles of Amanus, he directed his march southward to the bay of Issus, and took the city of that name, which contained, under a feeble guard, the sick and wounded Macedonians, who had not been able to follow the army in its expeditious march

⁸¹ These movements are explained only by Arrian. Diodorus, Plutarch, and Curtius, not attending to the geography of the country, are inconsistent and unintelligible.

⁸² Amyntas, though an exile, was not a flatterer. He assured Darius, that Alexander would certainly come to any place where the Persians encamped. Arrian, p. 34.

⁸³ Aristomenes the Pheræan, Bianor the Aearnanian, Thymondas the son of Mentor, the Rhodian, and others mentioned by Arrian, *passim*.

⁸⁴ Arrian, Plut., Diodor., Curt.

across the mountains. The Persians put these unhappy men to death, with shocking circumstances of cruelty⁸⁶, little thinking that Alexander was now behind, prepared to avenge their fate.

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That enlightened prince who could scarcely believe the folly of Darius, sent a small flat-bottomed vessel to reconnoitre his motions. This vessel speedily returned to Alexander, and saluted him with the agreeable news that his enemies were now in his hands. Having summoned an assembly, the King forgot none of those topics of encouragement which the occasion so naturally suggested, since the meanest Macedonian soldier could discern the injudicious movements of the Persians, who had quitted a spacious plain, to entangle themselves among intricate mountains, where their numerous cavalry, in which they chiefly excelled, could perform no essential service. In preparing for this important contest, the spirits of the Macedonians were elevated by a recollection of many fortunate occurrences. Ptolemy, as they had recently learned, had made himself master of the strong fortresses in Caria. The brave Memnon indeed had escaped; but that able commander, who, to pave the way for invading Macedon, had attacked the Grecian isles with his fleet, was since dead; and his successors in command, after irritating the islanders by their insolence and oppression, were defeated in all their designs by the vigilance of Antipater. The army of

Circumstances which encouraged the Macedonian army.

⁸⁶ Χαλεπὴν αἰκισμὸν ἀποκτείνε, Arrian, p. 34. It is remarkable, that he ascribes this barbarity to Darius himself.

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Alexander had lately increased, by many voluntary accessions of the Asiatics, who admired his courage, mildness, and uninterrupted good fortune; and the soldiers, who the preceding year had been sent to winter in Europe, had not only rejoined the camp, but brought with them numerous levies from Greece, Macedon, and all the adjoining countries. By men thus disposed to indulge the most sanguine hopes, the military harangue of their prince was received with a joyous ardour. They embraced each other; they embraced their admired commander; and his countenance confirming their alacrity, they entreated to be led to battle.⁸⁶

Disposition
of
both parties.

Alexander commanded them first to refresh their bodies; but immediately dispatched some horse and archers to clear the road to Issus. In the evening he followed with his whole army, and about midnight, took possession of the Syrian straits. The soldiers were then allowed a short repose, sufficient guards being posted on the surrounding eminences. At dawn, the army was in motion, marching by its flank while the passage continued narrow; and new columns being successively brought up, as the mountains gradually opened. Before reaching the river Pinarus, on the opposite bank of which the enemy were encamped, the Macedonians had formed in order of battle; Alexander leading the right wing, and the left being commanded by Parmenio. They continued to advance, till their right was flanked by a mountain, and their left

⁸⁶ Arrian, p. 83—86.

by the sea, from which Parmenio was ordered not to recede. Darius being apprised of the enemy's approach, detached a body of fifty thousand cavalry and light infantry across the Pinarus, that the remainder might have room to form without confusion. His Greek mercenaries, amounting to thirty thousand, he posted directly opposite to the Macedonian phalanx. The Greeks were flanked on both sides by double that number of Barbarians, also heavy armed. The nature of the ground admitted not more troops to be ranged in front; but as the mountain on Alexander's left sloped inwards, Darius placed on that sinuosity twenty thousand men, who could see the enemy's rear, though it appears not that they could approach or annoy it. Behind the first line the rest of the Barbarians were ranged, according to their various nations, in close and unserviceable ranks; Darius being every where encumbered by the vastness of a machine, which he had not skill to wield.⁸⁷

His pusillanimity was more fatal than his ignorance. When he perceived the Macedonians advancing, he commanded his men to maintain their post on the Pinarus, the bank of which was in some places high and steep; where the access seemed easier, he gave orders to raise a rampart; precautions which shewed the enemy, that even before the battle began, the mind of Darius was already conquered.⁸⁸ Alexander, meanwhile,

The battle
of Issus.
Olymp.
cxii. 4.
A. C. 333.

⁸⁷ Arrian. p. 36.

⁸⁸ Καὶ ταυτὴ εὐθὺς ὁρῶντος ἐγένετο τοῖς ἀμφὶ Ἀλεξάνδρον τῇ γυνάμει δεδουλευμένος. "And thence he immediately appeared to those about

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rode along the ranks, exhorting, by name, not only the commanders of the several brigades, but the tribunes and inferior officers, and even such captains of the auxiliaries as were distinguished by rank, or ennobled by merit. Perceiving it necessary to moderate the martial ardour that prevailed, he commanded his forces to advance with a regular and slow step, lest the phalanx should fluctuate through too eager a contention. Their motion quickened, as they proceeded within reach of the enemy's darts. Alexander, with those around him, then sprung into the river. Their impetuosity frightened the Barbarians, who scarcely waited the first shock.⁸⁰ But the Greek mercenaries perceiving that by the rapidity and success of Alexander's assault, the Macedonians were bent towards the right wing, which was separated from the centre, seized the decisive moment of rushing into the interval, where the phalanx was disjointed. A fierce engagement ensued, the Greeks eager to regain the honour of their name, the Macedonians ambitious to maintain the unsullied glory of the phalanx. This desperate action proved fatal to Ptolemy the son of Seleucus, and other officers of distinction, to the number of an hundred and twenty. Meanwhile, the Macedonian

Alexander to be already enslaved in his mind." In those times, slavery was the natural consequence of being conquered in battle.

⁸⁰ They did, however, wait it; for Arrian says, *εὐθὺς γὰρ ὡς ἐν χερσὶ μάχῃ ἐγένετο*. The "*μάχῃ ἐν χερσὶ ἐγένετο*;" when the darts and javelins ceased, and the contending parties came to the use of manual, instead of missile, weapons.

right wing having repelled the enemy with great slaughter, wheeled to the left, and animated by recent victory, finally prevailed against the obstinacy of the Greeks. A body of Persian horse still maintained the battle against the Thessalian cavalry, and did not quit the field, till informed that Darius had betaken himself to flight.⁹⁰

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The overthrow of the Persians was now manifest on all sides. Their cavalry and infantry suffered equally in the rout; for their horsemen were heavy-armed, and encumbered by the narrowness of the roads, and their own terror. Ptolemy, the son of Lagus⁹¹, says, that the pursuers filled up the ditches with dead bodies. The number of the slain was computed at an hundred and ten thousand, among whom were many satraps and nobles.

Rout of
the Per-
sians.

The Great King had discovered little obstinacy in defending the important objects at stake. His left wing was no sooner repelled by Alexander, than he drove away in his chariot, accompanied by his courtiers. When the road grew rough and mountainous, he continued his flight on horseback, leaving his shield, his mantle, and his bow, which were found by the Macedonians. Alexander, who had received a troublesome wound in the thigh⁹², judged it improper to pursue him till the Greek mercenaries were dis-

Escape of
Darius.

⁹⁰ Arrian, l. ii. p. 36, et seq.

⁹¹ Idem, *ibid.*

⁹² Chares, cited by Plutarch, says, that Alexander received this wound from the hand of Darius; but the silence of Alexander's letter to Antipater, in which he gave an account of the battle, and of his wound on the thigh, refutes that improbable report.

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The cap-
tives and
booty.

persed; the approach of night facilitated Darius's escape.

The Persian camp afforded abundant proof of Asiatic luxury and opulence.⁹³ It contained, however, in money but three thousand talents; the magnificent treasures, which accompanied the Great King, being deposited, previous to the battle, in the neighbouring city of Damascus. This rich booty was afterwards seized by order of Alexander, who found in the camp a booty more precious, the wife and daughters of Darius, his mother Sysigambis, and his infant son. In an age when prisoners of war were synonymous with slaves, Alexander behaved to his captives according to their respective ages, with filial duty or with parental tenderness.⁹⁴ In his chaste attention to Statira, the fairest beauty of the East, his conduct forms a remarkable contrast with that of his admired Achilles, whom he equalled in valour, but far surpassed in humanity. These illustrious princesses bore their own misfortunes with patience, but burst into dreadful lamentations, when informed by an eunuch that he had seen the mantle of Darius in the hands of a Macedonian soldier. Alexander sent to assure them that Darius yet lived; and next day visited them in person, accompanied by Hephestion,

⁹³ Among other things of value in the tent of Darius, was found a casket of exquisite workmanship, adorned with jewels. It was employed to hold Darius's perfumes.—Alexander said, "I use no perfumes, but shall put into it something more precious." This was the Iliad of Homer, corrected by Aristotle, and often mentioned by ancient writers; ἡ ἐκ του ναρθηκος, "the Iliad of the casket." Strabo, l. xiii. p. 88. Plut. in Alexand.

⁹⁴ Arrian, iii. c. 22. Conf. Arrian, l. iv. c. 20.

the most affectionate of his friends.⁹⁴ Sysigambis approached to prostrate⁹⁵ herself before the conqueror, according to the custom of the East; but not knowing the King, as their dress was alike, she turned to Hephestion: Hephestion suddenly stepping back, Sysigambis saw her mistake, and was covered with confusion. "You mistook not, madam," said the King, "Hephestion is likewise Alexander."⁹⁶

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The virtues of Alexander long continued to expand with his prosperity; but he was never more inimitably great than after the battle of Issus. The city of Soli, in Cilicia, though inhabited by a Grecian colony, had discovered uncommon zeal in the cause of Darius. To punish this unnatural apostacy from Greece, Alexander demanded a heavy contribution from Soli; but, after the victory, he remitted this fine. Impelled by the same generous magnanimity, he released the Athenian captives taken at the battle of the Granicus, a favour which he had sternly refused, in the dawn of his fortune. In Damascus, several Grecian ambassadors were found among the captives. Alexander ordered them to be brought into his presence. Thessaliscus and Dionysodorus, the Thebans, he instantly declared free, observing, that the misfortunes of their city justly entitled the Thebans to apply to Darius, and to

The virtues of
Alexander
expand
with his
prosperity.

⁹⁴ Alexander, with his usual discernment, characterised the personal affection of Hephestion: "Craterus loves the prince; Hephestion loves Alexander." Plut. in Alexand.

⁹⁵ Προσελθειν και προσκυνησαι. Arrian, l. ii. p. 39.

⁹⁶ Curtius, l. iii. c. 12. Arrian, p. 39.

C H A P. every prince or individual likely to relieve them.
XXXVII. Iphicrates, the Athenian, he treated with the respect which appeared due both to his country and to his father. Euthycles the Spartan, alone, he detained in safe custody, because Sparta sullenly rejected the friendship of Macedon. But as his clemency still increased with his power⁹⁷, he afterwards released Euthycles.

⁹⁷ Arrian, p. 42.

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Siege of Tyre. — Desperate Resistance of Gaza. — Easy Conquest of Egypt. — Foundation of Alexandria. — Alexander visits the Temple of Jupiter Ammon. — Marches into Assyria. — Battle of Gaugamela. — Darius betrayed and slain. — Alexander pursues the Murderers of Darius. — Bactrian and Scythian War. — Siege of the Sogdian Fortress. — Surrender of Chorienes. — Commotions in Greece. — Checked by Antipater. — The Cause of Ctesiphon and Demosthenes. — Æschines banished. — State of Greece during Alexander's Reign.

IN his precipitate flight across the ridges of Amanus, Darius was gradually joined by about four thousand men, chiefly Greeks. Under this feeble escort, he departed hastily from Sochos, pursued his march eastward, and crossed the Euphrates at Thapsachus, eager to interpose that deep and rapid stream between himself and the conqueror.¹ Alexander's inclination to seize the person of his adversary could not divert him from the judicious plan of war to which he immoveably adhered. In a council of his friends, he declared his opinion, that it would be highly imprudent to

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Alexander receives an embassy from Tyre. Olymp. cxi. 4. A. C. 333.

¹ Ὡς ταχίστη μετὸν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν. Arrian, p. 40.

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attempt the conquest of Babylon, until he had thoroughly subdued the maritime provinces; because, should he be carried with an unseasonable celerity into Upper Asia, while the enemy commanded the sea, the war might be removed to Europe, where the Lacedæmonians were open enemies, and the Athenians doubtful friends. Having appointed governors of Cilicia and Cœlo-Syria, he therefore directed his march southward along the Phœnician coast. Aradus, Marathus, and Sidon², readily opened their gates. The Tyrians sent a submissive embassy of their most illustrious citizens, among whom was the son of Azelmicus, their king, who had himself embarked with Autophradates in the Persian fleet. They humbly informed Alexander, that the³ community from which they came, was prepared to obey his commands. Having complimented the city and the ambassadors, he desired them to acquaint their countrymen, that he intended shortly to enter Tyre, and to perform sacrifice there to Hercules.⁴

² I omit the story of Abdelerninus, whom Alexander raised from the humble condition of a gardener, to the throne of Sidon. Vid. Curt. l. iv. c. 1. Diodorus, l. xvii. relates the same story as happening in Tyre. Plutarch, de Fortun. Alexand. translates the scene to Paphos. Amidst such inconsistencies, the silence of Arrian seemed worthy of imitation.

³ Arrian says, that these ambassadors were *απο του κοινου εξαλμενοι*. It should seem that the King of Tyre was a very limited prince, and the government rather republican than monarchical.

⁴ The reader may recollect, that Philip sent a similar message to Atheas, King of the Scythians. Such pious pretences were often employed by antiquity to justify very unwarrantable transactions.

Upon this alarming intelligence, the Tyrians discovered much firmness. A second embassy assured Alexander of their unalterable respect, but at the same time communicated to him their determined resolution, that neither the Persians nor the Macedonians should ever enter their walls. This message appears remarkable in a nation of merchants, long unaccustomed to war.⁵ But the resources of their wealth and commerce seemed to have elevated the courage, instead of softening the character, of the Tyrians. Their city, which, in the language of the East, was styled the eldest daughter of Sidon⁶, had long reigned queen of the sea. The *purple* shell-fish, which was found in great abundance on their coast⁷, or rather their exclusive knowledge of the kermes, which affords a beautiful red colour, put them in possession of a most lucrative branch of trade, and confined chiefly to the Tyrians the advantage of clothing the princes and nobles in most civilised countries of antiquity.⁸ Tyre was separated from the

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Description
and
state of
Tyre.

⁵ Old Tyre was built on the continent by the Sidonians, 1252 B. C. It was besieged by Salmanesar, 1719 B. C.; and by Nebuchadnezzar, 572 B. C. The latter took the place after a siege of thirteen years; but part of the inhabitants had previously fled with their effects to a neighbouring island, and founded the city described in the text. Vid. Joseph. l. viii. cap. 2. l. ix. cap. 14. & l. x. cap. 11.

⁶ Isaiah, xxiii. 12.

⁷ Strabo, l. vi. p. 521.

⁸ Homer, Herodot. &c. passim. See likewise vol. i. p. 336. Mr. Bruce, in his Travels, treats the story of the purple shell-fish with contempt; and supposes the Phœnicians concealed under this disguise their knowledge of cochineal: had he said kermes, his supposition might be approved, as according well with the artful character of the Phœnicians.

CHAP. continent by a frith half a mile broad ; its walls
XXXVIII. were an hundred feet⁹ in height, and of proportionate solidity. The convenience of its situation, the capaciousness of its harbours, and the industrious ingenuity of its inhabitants, rendered it the commercial capital of the world. Its magazines were plentifully provided with military and naval stores, and it was peopled by numerous and skilful artificers in stone, wood, and iron.¹⁰

Alexander
 besieges
 Tyre.
 Olymp.
 cxii. 1.
 A. C. 332.

Throws a
 mole
 across the
 frith ;

Notwithstanding the strength of the city, Alexander determined to form the siege of Tyre ; and the difficulty of an undertaking, which seemed necessary in itself, and essential to the success of still more important enterprises, only stimulated the activity of a prince, who knew that, on many emergencies, boldness is the greatest prudence. The first operation which he directed, was to run a mole from the continent to the walls of Tyre, where the sea was about three fathom deep. The necessity of this measure arose from the imperfection of the battering engines of antiquity, which had little power, except at small distances. On the side of the continent, the work was carried on with great alacrity ; but when the Macedonians approached the city, they were much incommoded by the depth of water, and exceedingly galled by every kind of missile weapon from the battlements. The Tyrians, likewise, having the command of the sea, annoyed the workmen from their gallies, and retarded the comple-

⁹ Arrian says one hundred and fifty feet. The numbers probably are erroneous.

¹⁰ Plutarch, Curtius, Arrian.

tion of their labours. To resist these assaults, Alexander erected, on the furthest projecture of the mole, two wooden towers, on which he placed his engines, and which he covered with leather and raw hides to resist the ignited darts and fire-ships of the enemy. This contrivance, however, the ingenuity of his adversaries soon rendered ineffectual. Having procured a huge hulk, they filled it with dry twigs, pitch, sulphur, and other combustibles. Toward the prow, they raised two masts, each of which was armed with a double yard, from whose extremities were suspended vast caldrons, filled with whatever might add to the violence of the conflagration. Having prepared this uncommon instrument of destruction, they patiently waited a favourable wind. The hulk was then towed into the sea by two gallies. As she approached the mole, the rowers set her on fire, and escaped by swimming. The works of the Macedonians were soon thrown into a blaze. The enemy, sailing forth in boats, prevented them from extinguishing the flames; and the labour of many weeks was thus in one day reduced to ruins.¹¹

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which is
destroyed
by the
Tyrians.

The perseverance of Alexander was proof against such accidents. He immediately commanded new engines to be made, and a new mole to be raised, stronger and broader than the preceding. The orders of a prince, who directed every operation in person, and whose bodily toils exceeded those of the meanest soldier, were sure

Alexander
raises a
new mole.

¹¹ Arrian, p. 44. et seq.

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His military and naval reinforcements.

of being heard with respect and obeyed with alacrity. The ruins of old Tyre afforded abundance of stone; wood was brought from Anti-Libanus¹²; and it should seem that a roving party of Arabs having disturbed the Macedonian workmen, were repelled by Alexander, which gave rise to the idle report of his Arabian conquest. By incredible exertions, the mole was at length built, and the battering engines were erected. The arrival of four thousand Peloponnesian forces seasonably reinforced Alexander, and revived the courage of his troops, exhausted by fatigue and dejected by defeat. At the same time the fleets of the maritime provinces which he had subdued, came to offer their assistance in an undertaking, which could scarcely have proved successful, while the Tyrians commanded the sea. The squadrons of Lower Asia were joined by the naval force of Rhodes and Cyprus. The whole armament of Alexander amounted to two hundred and twenty-four vessels¹³, so that the Tyrians, who hitherto

¹² Curtius confounds Anti-Libanus with Mount Libanus. It would be endless to notice his errors, exaggerations, and fictions in the account of this siege, which is one of the most romantic passages in his history. Curtius writes to the fancy, not to the judgment; and to readers of a certain taste the picturesque beauties of his style will atone for errors in matter of fact. *He* may be allowed to raise an imaginary storm, who can describe it like Curtius. "Tum inhorrescens mare paullatim levare, deinde acriori vento concitatum, fluctus cingere, et inter se navigia collidere. Jamque scindi cœperant vincula, quibus connexæ quadriremes erant, ruerè tabulata, & cum ingenti fragore in profundum secum milites trahere." It is Alexander, whose actions he disfigures and renders incredible, not the reader, whose fancy he amuses, that has just cause of anger with Curtius.

¹³ Curtius, l. iv. c. 3. says, that it consisted of one hundred and eighty sail. Plutarch. in Alexand. says, that the haven of

confided in their fleet, now retired behind the defences of their ports for safety.

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Singular
operations
of the
siege.

But, these persevering islanders, though they prudently declined an unequal combat, were forsaken neither by their activity nor their courage. The hulks and gallies¹⁴, destined to advance the battering engines against their walls, were assailed with continual showers of ignited arrows¹⁵, and other missile weapons, which came with peculiar effect from wooden towers newly raised on their lofty battlements. This distant hostility retarded, but could not prevent, the approaches of the enemy. The purpose of the Tyrians was better effected by casting down huge stones into the sea, which hindered access to the walls. To clear these incumbrances required the perseverance of the Macedonians, and the animating presence of Alexander. Before the work could be accomplished, the enemy advanced in covered vessels, and cut the cables of the hulks employed in that laborious service. Alexander commanded a squadron to advance and repel the Tyrians. Yet even this did not facilitate the removal of the bar; for the islanders, being expert divers, plunged under water,

Tyre was blocked up with two hundred triremes. Arrian distinctly mentions the number and species of ships sent by each city or province. From Macedon there came, he says, a vessel of fifty oars, *πρυμνοστόπος*; a circumstance which proves that, on this emergency, Alexander had taken pains to collect ships from all quarters.

¹⁴ Such vessels were used for this purpose, as were the stoutest sailers. Arrian, p. 46.

¹⁵ *Πυρροποιστοί*.

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The Ty-
rians de-
feated at
sea.

and again cutting the cables, set the Macedonian vessels adrift. It thus became necessary to prepare chains, which were used instead of ropes; by which contrivance the hulks were secured in firm anchorage, the bank of stones was removed, and the battering engines advanced to the walls.

In this extremity the Tyrians ventured to attack the Cyprian squadron, stationed at the mouth of the harbour which looked towards Sidon. The boldness of this measure could only be surpassed by the deliberate valour with which it was carried into execution. The mouth of the haven they had previously covered with spread sails, to conceal their operations from the enemy. Mid-day was fixed for the hour of attack, at which time the Greeks and Macedonians reposed and refreshed themselves, and Alexander commonly retired to his pavilion, erected near the harbour which looked towards Egypt. The best sailing vessels were carefully selected from the whole fleet¹⁶, and manned with the most expert rowers, and the most resolute soldiers, all enured to the sea, and well armed for fight. At first they came forth in a line, slowly and silently; but having proceeded within sight of the Cyprians, they at once clashed their oars, raised a shout, and advanced a-breast of each other to the attack. Several of the enemy's ships were sunk at the first shock; others were dashed in

¹⁶ They consisted, says Arrian, in five choice quinqueremes, as many quadriremes, and seven triremes. See note, vol. i. p. 208. et seq.

pieces against the shore. Alexander, who had fortunately that day tarried but a short time in his pavilion, was no sooner informed of this desperate sally, than, with admirable presence of mind, he immediately ordered such vessels as were ready, to block up the mouth of the haven, and thereby prevent the remainder of the Tyrian fleet from joining their victorious companions. Meanwhile, with several quinquereme, and five trireme, gallies, hastily prepared, he sailed round to attack the Tyrians. The besieged observing from their walls the approach of Alexander, endeavoured, by shouts and signals, to recall their ships. They had scarcely changed their course, when they were assailed by the besiegers, and soon rendered unserviceable. The men saved themselves by swimming; few vessels escaped; two were taken at the very entrance of the harbour.

The issue of these naval operations decided the fate of Tyre. Unawed by the hostile fleet, the Macedonians now fearlessly advanced their engines on all sides. Amidst repeated assaults during two days, the besiegers displayed the ardour of enthusiasm¹⁷, the besieged the fury

Tyre taken
by assault.
Olymp.
cxii. 1.
A. C. 332.
July.

¹⁷ From the beginning, the difficulties of the siege had appeared almost unsurmountable to the soldiers. "But Alexander," says Curtius, "*haudquaquam rudis tractandi militares animos, speciem sibi Herculis in somno oblatam esse pronunciat, dextram porrigentia.*" The diviners thence concluded, as Arrian tells us, that Tyre would be taken, but that it would be an Herculean labour. Alexander continued throughout the siege to employ the aids of superstition. At one time it was said, that Apollo was about to leave Tyre, and that the Tyrians had fastened him with golden chains to

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of despair. From towers equal in height to the walls, the Greeks and Macedonians fought hand to hand with the enemy. By throwing spontoons across, the bravest sometimes passed over, even to the battlements. In other parts, the Tyrians successfully employed hooks and grappling-irons to remove the assailants. On those who attempted scaling-ladders, they poured vessels of burning sand, which penetrated to the bone. The vigour of the attack was opposed by as vigorous a resistance. The shock of the battering engines was deadened by green hides and coverlets of wool, and whenever an opening was effected, the bravest combatants advanced to defend the breach. But time and fatigue, which exhausted the vigour of the enemy, only confirmed the perseverance of Alexander. On the third day, his engines assailed the walls; and the fleet, divided into two squadrons, attacked the opposite harbours. A wide breach being effected, Alexander commanded the hulks, which carried the engines, to retire, and others, bearing the scaling-ladders, to advance, that his soldiers might enter the town over the ruins. The targeteers, headed by Admetus, first mounted the breach. This gallant commander was slain by a spear; but Alexander, who was

prevent his elopement. At another, Alexander dreamed that a satyr playing before him, long eluded his grasp, but finally allowed himself to be caught. The augurs divided the word *Zarupos*, a Satyr, into two syllables, *Ze Typos*, Tyre is thine. By such coarse artifices, varied according to circumstances, have the greatest achievements been effected.

present wherever danger called, immediately followed with the royal band of *Companions*. At the same time the Phœnician fleet broke into the harbour of Egypt, and the Cyprians into that of Sidon. After their walls were taken, the townsmen still rallied, and prepared for defence. The length of the siege, and still more the cruelty of the Tyrians, who having taken some Grecian vessels from Sidon, butchered their crews on the top of their wall, and threw their bodies into the sea, in sight of the whole Macedonian army, provoked the indignation of Alexander, and exasperated the fury of the victors. Eight thousand Tyrians were slain; thirty thousand were reduced to servitude.¹⁸ The principal magistrates, together with some Carthaginians who had come to worship the gods of their mother-country, took refuge in the temple of Tyrian Hercules. They were saved by the clemency or piety of Alexander, who had lost four hundred men in this obstinate siege of seven months.¹⁹

The conquest of Phœnicia was followed by the submission of the neighbouring province of Judæa.²⁰ But in the road leading to Egypt, the

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Submission of
Judæa.

¹⁸ Curtius, l. iv. c. 4. says, that fifteen thousand Tyrians were saved by their Sidonian brethren, who clandestinely embarked them in their ships, and transported them to Sidon. This circumstance, omitted by Arrian, derives some probability from the vigorous resistance which, nineteen years afterwards, Tyre again made to the arms of Antigonus. Vid. Diodor. Sicul. p. 702—704.

¹⁹ Arrian, l. ii. p. 44—50.

²⁰ The Greek historians of Alexander are silent concerning his

C H A P.
XXXVIII.Desperate
resistance
of Gaza.

progress of the conqueror was interrupted by the strong city of Gaza, situate on a high hill, near the confines of the Arabian desert.²¹ This place, distant about two miles from the sea, and surrounded by marshes or a deep sand, which rendered it extremely difficult of access, was held for Darius by the loyalty of Batis²², an eunuch, who had prepared to resist Alexander by hiring Arabian troops, and by providing copious maga-

journey to Jerusalem, and his extraordinary transactions there, described by Josephus, l. xi. c. 8. This story, very flattering to the Jews, is inconsistent with the narrative of Arrian, copied in the text. As all Palestine, except Gaza, had submitted to his arms, "Τα μὲν ἅλλα τῆς Παλαιστίνης προσεχωρηκότες ἦδη." Alexander had no occasion to march against Jerusalem. The conversation between Alexander, Parmenio, and the high-priest Jadduah, as related by Josephus, is likewise at variance with well-authenticated events in the reign of Alexander. When the high-priest approached to implore the clemency of the conqueror, Alexander, says the Jewish historian, prostrated himself before that venerable old man; an action which so much surprised Parmenio, that he immediately asked his master, "Why he, whom all the world adored, should himself adore the high-priest of the Jews?" It will appear in the sequel, that Alexander did not require this mark of respect (the *προσκύνησις*) till long after the period alluded to by Josephus: neither could he be accompanied by the Chaldeans, as that writer alleges; much less could the high-priest, with propriety, have requested Alexander to permit the Jews, settled in Babylon and Media, the free exercise of their religion, before that prince had conquered those countries, or even passed the Euphrates. See this subject farther examined in Moyle's Letters, vol. ii. p. 415. and in l'Examen Critique des Historiens d'Alexandre, p. 65—69.

²¹ Εσχάτη δὲ οὐκείτο ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐκ Φοινίκης ἰστέ, ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ τῆς ἐρήμου. "It is the last inhabited place on the road from Phenicia to Egypt, on the skirts of the desert."

²² Curtius, l. iv. c. 6. calls him Belis; Josephus, l. ix. c. 8. Bahameses.

zines. The Macedonian engineers²³ declared their opinion that Gaza was impregnable. But Alexander, unwilling to incur the disgrace and danger of leaving a strong fortress behind him, commanded a rampart to be raised on the south side of the wall, which seemed least secure against an attack. His engines were scarcely erected, when the garrison made a furious sally, and threw them into flames. It required the presence of the King to save the rampart, and to prevent the total defeat of the Macedonians. Warned by a heavenly admonition²⁴, he had hitherto kept beyond the reach of the enemy's darts; and when the danger of his troops made him forget the Divine omen, a weapon, thrown from a catapult, pierced his shield and breast-plate, and wounded him in the shoulder. Soon afterwards the engines, which had been used in the siege of Tyre, arrived by sea. A wall of incredible height and breadth²⁵ was run entirely round the city; the Macedonians raised their batteries; the²⁶ miners were busy at the foundation; breaches were effected; and, after repeated assaults, the city

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²³ Ὁι μηχανοποιοι, the engine-makers; it should seem that the same persons who made the engines, directed the application of them.

²⁴ While Alexander was sacrificing, a bird of prey let fall a stone on his head. According to Aristander the soothsayer, this prodigy portended that the city should be taken, but that Alexander would be exposed to danger in the siege.

²⁵ Ευρος μὲν ἐς δύο σταδίου, ὕψος δὲ ἐς πέντε καὶ διακοσίους, "Two furlongs in breadth, two hundred and fifty feet in height;" but the text is absurdly erroneous.

²⁶ Ὑπονομον τε ἀλλή καὶ ἀλλή οὐρυσσομένων. Arrian, p. 51. This was an uncommon expedient, and used only on great emergencies.

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was taken by storm. When their wall was undermined, and their gates in possession of the enemy, the inhabitants still fought desperately, and, without losing ground²⁷, perished to a man. Their wives and children were enslaved; and Gaza, being re-peopled from the neighbouring territory, served as a place of arms to restrain the incursions of the Arabs.

Easy conquest of Egypt.
Olymp. cxii. 1.
A. C. 332.

The obstinate resistance of the obscure fortress of Gaza was contrasted by the ready submission of the celebrated kingdom of Egypt. In seven days' march, Alexander reached the maritime city of Pelusium, to which he had previously sent his fleet, with an injunction, after seizing the ships in the harbour, carefully to examine the neighbouring coasts, lakes, and rivers. His decisive victory at Issus, the shameful flight of Darius, the recent subjugation of Syria and Phœnicia, together with the actually defenceless state of Egypt, (Mazaces, the satrap of that large province, having no Persian, and scarcely any regular troops,) opened a ready passage to Memphis, the wealthy capital. There, Alexander was received as sovereign, and immediately afterwards acknowledged by the whole nation; a nation long accustomed to fluctuate between one servitude and another, always ready to obey the first summons of an invader, and ever willing to betray him for a new master. Grateful for his unexampled success, the conqueror sacrificed at

²⁷ Καὶ ἀπεθάνον πάντες αὐτοῦ μάχομενοι, ὡς ἑκατοὶ ἐταχθήσαν.
The highest panegyric, being the very words applied by Lysias, Herodotus, &c. to those who fell at Thermopy.

Memphis to the Egyptian gods, and celebrated in that city gymnastic and musical games, under the direction of Grecian artists, accompanying him for that purpose. Having placed sufficient garrisons both in Memphis and Pelusium, he embarked with the remainder of his forces and sailed down the Nile to Canopus.²⁸

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At this place, Alexander found abundant occupation for his policy, in a country where there was no opportunity for exercising his valour. Continually occupied with the thoughts, not only of extending, but of improving his conquests, the first glance of his discerning eye perceived what the boasted wisdom of Egypt had never been able to discover. The inspection of the Mediterranean coast, of the Red Sea, of the lake Marœotis, and of the various branches of the Nile, suggested the design of founding a city, which should derive, from nature only, more permanent advantages than the favour of the greatest princes can bestow. Fired with this idea, he not only fixed the situation²⁹, but traced

Founda-
tion of
Alexan-
dria.

²⁸ Arrian, p. 51. et seq.

²⁹ "Egypt," says Baron Tott, who lately surveyed that country, with the eye of an engineer and a statesman, "was formed to reunite the commerce of Europe, Africa, and the Indies. It stood in need of a harbour, vast, and of easy access. The mouths of the Nile afford neither of these advantages: the only proper situation was distant twelve leagues from the river, and in the heart of a desert. On this spot, which none but a great genius could have pitched on, Alexander built a city, which being joined to the Nile by a navigable canal, became the capital of nations, the metropolis of commerce. The trading nations of the earth still respect its ruins, heaped up by barbarism, and which

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the plan of his intended capital, described the circuit of its walls, and assigned the ground for its squares, market-places, and temples. * Such was the sagacity of his choice, that within the space of twenty years, Alexandria rose to distinguished eminence among the cities of Egypt and the East, and continued, through all subsequent ages of antiquity, the principal bond of union, the seat of correspondence and commerce, among the civilized nations of the earth.

Alexander
visits the
temple of
Ammon.
Olymp.
cxii. 1.
A. C. 332.

In Egypt, an inclination seized Alexander to traverse the southern coast of the Mediterranean, that he might visit the revered temple and oracle of Jupiter Ammon. This venerable shrine was situate in a cultivated spot of five miles in diameter, distant about fifty leagues from the sea, and rising with attractive beauty amidst the sandy deserts of Lybia. Among the African and Asiatic nations, the oracle of Ammon enjoyed a similar authority to that which Delphi had long held in Greece; and, perhaps, the conquest of the East could not have been so easily accomplished by Alexander, had he not previously obtained the sanction of this venerated shrine. Guided by prudence, or impelled by curiosity, he first proceeded two hundred miles westward, along the coast to Parætonius, through a deso-

require but the operation of a beneficent hand, to restore the boldest edifice which the human mind ever dared to conceive." Mem. du Baron de Tott, t. ii. p. 179.

* Arrian, l. iii. sub. init.

late country, but not destitute of water. He then boldly penetrated towards the south, into the midland territory, despising the danger of traversing an ocean of sand, unmarked by trees, mountains, or any other object that might direct his course, or vary this gloomy scene of uniform sterility.³¹ The superstition of the ancients believed him to have been conducted by ravens, or serpents; which, without supposing a miracle, may, agreeably to the natural instinct of animals, have sometimes bent their course through the desert, towards a well-watered and fertile spot, covered with palms and olives. The fountain, which was the source of this fertility, formed not the least curiosity of the place. It was exceedingly cool at mid-day, and warm at midnight; and, in the intervening time, regularly, every day, underwent all the intermediate degrees of temperature. The adjacent territory produced a fossile salt, which was often dug out in large oblong pieces, clear as crystal. The priests of Ammon inclosed it in boxes of palm-tree, and bestowed it in presents on kings and other illustrious personages; such salt being regarded as purer than that procured from seawater, and therefore preferred for the purpose of sacrifice, by persons curious in their worship.³²

Alexander admired the nature of the place, consulted the oracle concerning the success of his expedition, and received, as was universally

Alexander settles the government of Egypt.

³¹ Arrian, p. 53. & seq. & Curtius, l. iv. c. 7.

³² Arrian, *ibid.*

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reported, a very favourable answer.³³ Having thus effected his purpose at the temple of Ammon, he returned to Memphis, in order finally to settle the affairs of Egypt. The inhabitants of that country were reinstated in the enjoyment of their ancient religion and laws. Two Egyptians were appointed to administer the civil government: but the principal garrisons Alexander prudently entrusted to the command of his most confidential friends³⁴; a policy alike recommended by the strength and importance of the country, and by the restless temper of its inhabitants.

Darius
collects an
army from
his eastern
provinces.

The Macedonians had now extended their arms over Anatolia, Carmania, Syria and Egypt; countries which anciently formed the seat of arts and empire, and which actually compose the strength and centre of the Turkish power. But Darius (after all hopes of accommodation had vanished with a conqueror who demanded unconditional submission to his clemency³⁵) still

³³ Vid. Plut. Alexand. p. 680. The priest or prophet, meant to address Alexander by the affectionate title of *παῖς*, child, son; but not being sufficiently acquainted with the Greek tongue, he said, *παις* *Διός*, son of Jupiter. On this wretched blunder were founded Alexander's pretensions to divinity. Plut. *ibid.* & Zonar. *Annal.* i. p. 134. The fictions of Curtius are inconsistent with Arrian, and with Strabo, l. xvii. p. 1168.

³⁴ Arrian observes, that the Romans seem to have imitated the jealousy of Alexander respecting Egypt. Sensible of the temptations of the governors of that province to revolt, they appointed, not senators, but men of the Equestrian order, to be proconsuls of Egypt. Arrian, p. 55.

³⁵ In this Arrian and Curtius agree. The letters between Alexander and Darius are differently expressed by these writers.

found resources in his eastern provinces, Schirvan, Gilan, Korosan, and the wide extent of territory between the Caspian and the Jaxartes. Not only the subjects of the empire, but the independent tribes in those remote regions, which in ancient and modern times have ever been the abode of courage and barbarity, rejoiced in an opportunity to signalise their restless valour. At the first summons, they poured down into the fertile plains of Assyria, and increased the army of Darius far beyond any proportion of force which he had hitherto collected.

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Meanwhile Alexander, having received considerable reinforcements from Greece, Macedon, and Thrace, pursued his journey eastward from Phoenicia, passed the Euphrates at Thapsacus³⁶, boldly stemmed the rapid stream of the Tigris, and hastened to meet the enemy in Assyria. Darius had pitched his tents on the level banks of the Bumadus, near the obscure village of Gaugamela; but the famous battle, which finally decided the empire of the East, derived its name from Arbela, a town in the same province, sixty miles distant from the former, better known, and of easier pronunciation.³⁷

Alexander
marches
into Assy-
ria.
Olymp.
cxii. 2.
A. C. 331.

In both their accounts, which are totally inconsistent with each other, there are internal marks of falsehood.

³⁶ Darius had entrusted the defence of the pass to Mazacus, with a body of cavalry, of which two thousand were Greeks. But on the first intelligence of Alexander's approach, Mazacus abandoned his post, and drew off his forces. Arrian, p. 56.

³⁷ This reason, which is given by Arrian, could scarcely have appeared valid to any but a Greek. Vid. Arrian, p. 131.

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Ap-
proaches
the enemy.

Their
numbers.

The fourth day after passing the Tigris, Alexander was informed by his scouts, that they had seen some bodies of the enemy's horse, but could not ascertain their numbers. Upon this intelligence he marched forward in order of battle; but had not proceeded far, when he was met by other scouts, who having penetrated deeper into the country, or examined with greater accuracy, acquainted him that the hostile cavalry scarcely exceeded a thousand. This news made him alter his measures. The heavy-armed troops were commanded to slacken their pace. At the head of the royal cohort, the Pæonians, and auxiliaries, Alexander advanced with such celerity, that several of the Barbarians fell into his hands. These prisoners gave him very alarming accounts of the force of Darius, who was encamped within a few hours' march. Some made it amount to a million of foot, forty thousand horse, two hundred armed chariots, and fifteen elephants from the eastern banks of the Indus.³⁸ Others exaggerated (if indeed it was an exaggeration) with more method and probability, reducing the infantry to six hundred thousand, and raising the cavalry to an hundred and forty-five thousand.³⁹ But all agreed, that the present army was greatly more numerous, and composed of more warlike nations, than that which had fought at Issus.⁴⁰

³⁸ Arrian, p. 57.

³⁹ Curtius, l. iv. c. 12, 13., edit Geney. The numbers are different in the other editions.

⁴⁰ Arrian & Curtius, loc. citat. Justin, l. xi. c. 12. Diodorus, l. xvii. c. 39. & 53. Orasius, l. iii. c. 17. Plut. in Alexand.

Alexander received this information without testifying surprise. Having commanded an halt, he encamped four days to give his men rest and refreshment. His camp being fortified by a good intrenchment, he left in it the sick and infirm, together with all the baggage; and, on the evening of the fourth day, prepared to march against the enemy, with the effective part of his army, which was said to consist of forty thousand infantry, and seven thousand horse, unincumbered with any thing but their provisions and armour. The march was undertaken at the second watch of the night, that the Macedonians, by joining battle in the morning, might enjoy the important advantage of having an entire day before them, to reap the full fruits of their expected victory. About half way between the hostile camps, some eminences mutually intercepted the view of either army. Having ascended the rising ground, Alexander first beheld the Barbarians, drawn up in battle-array, and perhaps more skilfully marshalled than he had reason to apprehend. Their appearance, at least, immediately determined him to change his first resolution. He again commanded a halt, summoned a council of war; and different measures being proposed, acceded to the single opinion of Parmenio, who advised that the foot should remain stationary, until a detachment of horse had explored the field of battle⁴¹, and carefully examined the disposition of the

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Examines
the field of
battle.

⁴¹ Την χώραν παύσαν ἵνα το ἔργον αἰεσθαι ἐμελλεν. "The whole scene of the future action." Arrian, p. 8.

CHAP. enemy. Alexander, whose conduct was equalled
 XXXVIII. by his courage, and both surpassed by his activity, performed those important duties in person, at the head of his light horse, and royal cohort. Having returned with unexampled celerity he again assembled his captains, and encouraged them by a short speech. Their ardour corresponded with his own; and the soldiers, confident of victory, were commanded to take rest and refreshment.⁴²

Disposition of the enemy;

Meanwhile, Darius perceiving the enemy's approach, kept his men prepared for action. Notwithstanding the great length of the plain, he was obliged to contract his front, and form in two lines; each of which was extremely deep. According to the Persian custom, the King occupied the centre of the first line, surrounded by the princes of the blood, and the great officers of his court; and defended by his horse and foot guards, amounting to fifteen thousand chosen men. These splendid troops, which seemed fitter for parade than battle, were flanked, on either side, by the Greek mercenaries, and other war-

⁴² Δειπνοποιεῖσθαι καὶ ἀναπαύεσθαι ἐκέλευσε τὸν στρατὸν. "He commanded his army to sup and rest." Arrian, p. 58. This does not well agree with what is said, p. 57., οὐδὲν ἄλλο ὅτι μὴ ὅπλα φέρουσι. "That the soldiers carried nothing but their armour." I have therefore supplied the word "provisions." Both Arrian (loc. citat.) and Curtius (l. iv. c. 13.) say, that Parmenio exhorted Alexander to attack the enemy in the night; to which the King answered, that he disdained κλεψαὶ τὴν νικῆν "to steal the victory;" an answer worthy of his magnanimity and his prudence; since the day and the light were more favourable to the full exertion and display of his superior skill and courage.

like battalions, carefully selected from the whole army. The right wing consisted of the Medes, Parthians, Hyrcanians, and Sacæ; the left was chiefly occupied by the Bactrians, Persians, and Cardusians. The various nations composing this immense host were differently armed, with swords, spears, clubs, and hatchets; while the horse and foot of each division were blended with such irregularity as seemed the result of accident rather than of design. The armed chariots fronted the first line, whose centre was farther defended by the elephants. Chosen squadrons of Scythian, Bactrian, and Cappadocian cavalry advanced before either wing, prepared to bring on the action, or, after it began, to attack the enemy in flank and rear.

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The unexpected approach of Alexander within sight of his tents, prevented Darius from fortifying the wide extent of his camp; and, as he dreaded a nocturnal assault, from enemies who often veiled their designs in darkness, he commanded his men to remain all night under arms. This unusual measure, the gloomy silence, the long and anxious expectation, together with the fatigue of a restless night, discouraged the whole army, but inspired double terror into those who had witnessed the miserable disasters on the banks of the Granicus and the Issus.

who remain all night under arms.

At day-break, Alexander disposed his troops in a manner suggested by the superior numbers and deep order of the enemy. His main body consisted in two heavy-armed phalanxes,

Alexander's order of battle;

U of M

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each amounting to above sixteen thousand men. Of these, the greater part formed into one line; behind which, he placed the remainder of phalangites reinforced by targeteers, with orders, that when the out-spreading wings of the enemy prepared to attack the flanks and rear of his first line, the second should immediately wheel to receive them.⁴⁵ The cavalry and light infantry were so disposed on the wings, that while one part resisted the shock of the Persians in front, another, by only facing to the right or left, might take them in flank. Skilful archers and darters were posted at proper intervals, as affording the best defence against the armed chariots, which (as Alexander well knew) must immediately become useless, whenever their conductors or horses were wounded.

and mode
of attack.

Having thus arranged the several parts, Alexander with equal judgment led the whole in an oblique direction towards the enemy's left; a manœuvre which enabled the Macedonians to avoid contending at once with superior numbers. When his advanced battalions, notwithstanding their nearness to the enemy, still stretched towards the right, Darius also extended his left, till fearing that by continuing this movement his men should be drawn gradually off the plain, he commanded the Scythian squadrons to advance, and prevent the further extension of the hostile

⁴⁵ *Ἐπενεφε δε και δευτεραν ταβη ὡς εἰναι την φαλαγγα ἀμφοτερον.* Arrian, p. 60. The *φαλαγγὶ ἀμφοτερος* is defined by *Ælian*, as described in the text.

line. Alexander immediately detached a body of horse to oppose them. An equestrian combat ensued, in which both parties were reinforced, and the Barbarians finally repelled. The armed chariots then issued forth with impetuous violence; but their appearance, only, was formidable; for the precautions taken by Alexander rendered their assault harmless. Darius next moved his main body, but with so little order, that the horse, mixed with the infantry, advanced, and left a vacuity in the line, which his generals wanted time or vigilance to supply. Alexander seized the decisive moment, and penetrated into the void with a wedge of squadrons. He was followed by the nearest sections of the phalanx, who rushed forward with loud shouts, as if they had already pursued the enemy. In this part of the field, the victory was not long doubtful: after a feeble resistance, the Barbarians gave way: the pusillanimous Darius was foremost in the flight.⁴⁴

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Battle of
Gaugamela.
Olymp.
cxii. 2.
A. C. 331.
October.

The battle, however, was not yet decided. The more remote divisions of the phalanx, upon receiving intelligence that the left wing, commanded by Parmenio, was in danger, had not immediately followed Alexander. A vacant space was thus left in the Macedonian line, through which some squadrons of Persian and Indian horse penetrated with celerity, and advanced to the hostile camp.⁴⁵ It was then that

⁴⁴ Εφύγε αὐτὸς πρῶτος αὐτοῦ. "He fled shamefully among the foremost." Arrian, p. 69.

⁴⁵ The words of Arrian are, ἅλλ' ἐπισήσαντες τὴν φάλαγγα

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Alexander derived signal and well-earned advantages from his judicious order of battle. The heavy-armed troops and targeteers, which he had skilfully posted behind the phalanx, speedily faced about, advanced with a rapid step, and attacked the Barbarian cavalry, already entangled among the baggage. The enemy, thus surprised, were destroyed or put to flight. Meanwhile, the danger of his left wing recalled Alexander from the pursuit of Darius. In advancing

(viz. the sections on the left), *ἡγωνίζοντο ὅτε το σκευοφορα πορευομαι ἡγγελετο. Καὶ ταυτὴ παραρραγεισῆς αυτοῖς τῆς τάξεως, κατὰ το δαχον, διεκπαυοῖσι τῶν τε Ἰνδῶν τινες, καὶ τῆς Περσικῆς ἰπποῦ, ὡς ἐπὶ τὰ σκευοφορα τῶν Μακεδονῶν, &c.* The learned Guichard's commentary is ingenious, but scarcely warranted by the text. "Les sections de la droite de la phalange ayant donné en même temps que les Peltastes, les autres sections, qui étoient par l'oblique plus ou moins en arrière, tacherent aussi de marcher en avant, & de charger l'ennemi. Mais les troupes de la droite des Perses, voyant le sort de combat au centre, se pressent toutes vers cet endroit de la ligne, en se poussant mutuellement, & la foule embarrassa tellement les soldats de la phalange, qu'il leur fut alors impossible de s'avancer. Sur ces entrefaites, Alexandre, pour se faire jour, se jeta sur les derrières de ces ennemis. En même temps la nouvelle de la fuite de Darius, & de la deroute de toute sa gauche s'étant repandue, la consternation devint générale. L'effet en fut singulier; les Perses se voyant coupés, dans leur retraite, par les escadrons d'Alexandre, qu'ils avoient à dos, chercherent à se sauver, même à travers la phalange. Ils se jetterent à corps perdu sur elle. Quoique de vingt quatre de hauteur, elle ne put resister au poids de cette masse. Sa gauche étant alors plus chargée que sa droite, les sections de celle-ci poussèrent en avant, & n'observerent pas que, depuis la troisième section, la gauche restoit en arrière. Il en resulta que la phalange se separa, que sa droite s'avança à la poursuite de l'ennemi, & que des corps nombreux de cavalerie & d'infanterie, qui avoient été au centre Persan, entrèrent tout-à-coup par la crevasse, & poussèrent jusques derrière la ligne des Macédoniens." See *Mémoires Militaires*, c. v. p. 221.

against the enemy's right, he was met by the Parthian, Indian, and Persian horse, who maintained a sharp conflict. Sixty of the *Companions* fell; Hephæstion, Coenus, and Menidas, were wounded. Having at length dissipated this cloud of cavalry, Alexander prepared to attack the foot in that wing. But the business was already effected, chiefly by the Thessalian horse; and nothing remained to be done, but to pursue the fugitives, and to render the victory as decisive as possible.⁴⁶

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According to the least extravagant accounts, with the loss of five hundred men, he destroyed forty thousand of the barbarians⁴⁷, who never

Consequences of
the victory.

⁴⁶ Soldiers, better acquainted with the practice than with the theory of their art, have often testified a just surprise, that the battles of the ancients should be described with an order, perspicuity, and circumstantial minuteness, which are not to be found in the military writers of modern times. Scholars have endeavoured to explain this difference, by observing the immense disproportion, in point of dignity and abilities, between the military historians of modern Europe, and those of Greece and Rome. But the difficulty will be better solved, by reflecting on the changes introduced into the art of war by the change of arms; which, in military operations, form the pivot on which the whole turns. 1. From the nature of fire-arms, modern battles are involved in smoke and confusion. 2. From the same cause modern armies occupy a much greater extent of ground, and begin to act at much greater distances; which renders it more difficult to observe and ascertain their manœuvres. 3. The immense train of artillery, ammunition, &c. required in the practice of modern war, gives a certain immobility to our armies, which renders it impossible to perform, without great danger, those rapid evolutions in sight of an enemy, which so often decided the battles of the ancients. With us, almost every thing depends on the judicious choice of ground, a matter requiring great military genius, but not admitting the embellishments of historical discription.

⁴⁷ In the battles of the Greeks and Romans, the extraordinary

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thenceforth assembled in sufficient numbers to dispute his dominion in the East. The invaluable provinces of Babylonia, Susiana, and Persis, with their respective capitals of Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis⁴⁸, formed the prize of his skill and valour. Alexander had not yet attained the summit of his fortune, but he had already reached the height of his renown.⁴⁹ The burning of the royal palace of Persepolis⁵⁰, to retaliate the ravages

disproportion between the numbers slain on the side of the victors and of the vanquished, necessarily resulted from the nature of their arms. Their principal weapons being not missile, but manual, armies could not begin to act till they had approached so nearly to each other, that the conquered found themselves cut off from all possibility of retreat. In modern times the use of fire-arms (which often renders the action itself more bloody) furnishes the defeated party with various facilities for escape. The sphere of military action is so widely extended, that before the victors can run over the space which separates them from the vanquished, the latter may fall back, and proceed with little loss beyond their reach; and should any village, hedge, ravine, &c. be found in their way, may often check the ardour of the pursuers. Upon these considerations, the invention of gunpowder may be said to have saved the effusion of human blood. Equestrian engagements (since the principles on which cavalry act remain nearly the same in every age) are still distinguished by similar circumstances to those which appear so extraordinary in the battles of antiquity.

⁴⁸ The gold and silver found in those cities amounted to thirty millions sterling; the jewels and other precious spoil, belonging to Darius, sufficed, according to Plutarch, to load twenty thousand mules, and five thousand camels. Plut. in Alexand.

⁴⁹ After the battle of Arbela, many of Alexander's actions, as will appear in the text, deserve the highest praise; but, before that period, few of them can be justly blamed.

⁵⁰ Arrian, l. iii. p. 66. Plut. in Alexand. & Strabo, l. xv. p. 502. agree with Arrian in confining the conflagration to the palace. Plutarch tells us that only a part of that edifice was consumed. Diodorus says, inaccurately, *ὅτι καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦτο* "the place

of Xerxes in Greece, afforded the first indication of his being overcome by too much prosperity. To speak the most favourably of this transaction, an undistinguishing resentment made him forget that he destroyed his own palace, not that of his adversary.

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The settlement of his important and extensive conquests, and the reduction of the warlike Uxii, those independent mountaineers, who, inhabiting the western frontier of Persia, had ever defied the Persian power, restrained Alexander from urging the pursuit of Darius. After his defeat, that unfortunate prince escaped by a precipitate and obscure⁵¹ flight across the Armenian mountains into Media. Being gradually joined by the scat-

Measures
of Darius.

around the palace;" and Curtius, l. v. c. 7., with his usual extravagance, burns the whole city of Persepolis so completely, that not a vestige of it remained. The learned author of the *Examen Critique des Historiens d'Alexandre*, is at pains to prove that Persepolis existed under the successors of Alexander, and continued to exist till the first ages of Mahometanism, when the inhabitants of Persepolis, having violated their treaty with the Mussulmen, were butchered without mercy, and their city totally demolished. See *Examen Critique*, p. 125. & seq. Mr. D'Hankerville, however, alleges reasons for believing that there were two cities called Persepolis by the Greeks, situate at a considerable distance from each other, one of which was burnt by Alexander, and the other destroyed by the Mussulmen. See his supplement to his *Recherches sur les Arts, &c. de la Grèce*.

⁵¹ Arrian observes, that Darius shewed great judgment in his flight, having left the populous and well-frequented roads leading to Susa and Babylon, towards which he justly suspected that Alexander would march his army, and directing his course over the Armenian mountains into Media. Arrian, p. 63. Diodorus, l. xvii. p. 538. agrees with Arrian. The errors of Curtius, l. v. c. 1. are too absurd to merit refutation.

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tered remnant of his army, amounting to several thousand Barbarians, and fifteen hundred Greek mercenaries, he purposed to have established his court in Media, should Alexander remain at Susa or Babylon⁵²; but in case he were still pursued by the conqueror, his resolution was to proceed eastward, through Parthia and Hyrcania, into the valuable province of Bactria, laying waste the intermediate country, that he might thus interpose a desert between himself and the Macedonians. In this design, he dispatched to the Caspian Gates the waggons conveying his women, and such instruments of convenience or luxury as still softened his misfortunes; and remained in person at Ecbatana with his army. Alexander, when apprised of these measures, hastened into Media. In his way he subdued the Paraetacaeni; and having reached within three days' march of the Median capital, was met by Bisthanes, the son of Ochus, Darius's predecessor.⁵³ This Prince informed him, that Darius had fled from thence five days before, attended by three thousand horsemen, and six thousand foot.

⁵² The foundation of this hope was, that a revolt might break out in the Macedonian army; since the more and the richer provinces Alexander acquired, his lieutenants would have the greater temptations to aspire at independence. Subsequent events will justify the reasonable expectation of Darius, which was on this occasion disappointed.

⁵³ Arrian, p. 66. speaks as if Ochus had been Darius's immediate predecessor, neglecting the short reign of Arces, the son of Ochus, who was poisoned soon after his father by the eunuch Bagoas. Diodor. xvii. 5. Ælian. Var. Hist. vi. 8.

Animated by this intelligence, Alexander proceeded to Ecbatana, in which place he left his treasures, and posted a strong garrison. In this city he likewise dismissed the Thessalian cavalry, and several auxiliary squadrons; paying them, besides their arrears, a gratuity of two thousand talents. Such as preferred the glory of accompanying his standard to the joy of revisiting their respective countries, were allowed again to enlist; a permission which many embraced. A strong detachment under Parmenio was sent into Hyrcania; Cænus, who had been left sick at Susa, was commanded to march with all convenient speed into Parthia: while the King, with a well appointed army, advanced with incredible expedition⁴⁴ in pursuit of Darius. Having passed the Caspian Straits, he was met by Bagistanes, a Babylonian of distinction, who acquainted him that Bessus, governor of Bactria, in conjunction with Nabarzanes, an officer in Darius's cavalry, and Barzaentes, satrap of the barbarous Drangæ and Arachoti, had thrown aside all respect for a prince, who was no longer an object of fear. Upon this intelligence, Alexander declared expedition to be more necessary than ever. Having, therefore, left the heavy-armed troops and baggage under the command of Craterus, he hastened forward with a few select bands, carrying only

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Alexander
pursues
Darius;

⁴⁴ He made forced marches of thirty and forty miles. In eleven days, he advanced from Ecbatana to Rages, the Caspian gates, which was at the rate of nineteen miles per day. The common march of a Greek army was one hundred and fifty stadia, fourteen and a half British miles. See Rennell's Expedition of Cyrus, &c. p. 9.

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their arms, and two days' provisions. In that space of time, he reached the camp from which Bagistanes had deserted; and finding some parties of the enemy there, learned that Darius, being seized and bound, was actually carried prisoner in his chariot; that Bessus, in whose province this treason had been committed, had assumed imperial honours; that all the Barbarians (Artabazus only and his sons excepted) already acknowledged the usurper; that the Greek mercenaries preserved their fidelity inviolate; and, being unable to endure the flagitious scenes that were transacting, had quitted the public road, and retired to the mountains, disdaining not only to participate in the designs, but even to share the same camp with the traitors. Alexander farther learned, that should he pursue Bessus and his associates, it was their intention to make peace with him by delivering up Darius; but should he cease from the pursuit, that they had determined to collect forces, and to divide the eastern provinces of the empire.

who is
treache-
rously
slain.
Olymp.
cxii. 3.
A. C. 330.

Having received this information, Alexander marched all night, and next day till noon, with the utmost speed, but without overtaking the enemy. He therefore dismounted five hundred of his cavalry, placed the bravest of his foot, completely armed, on horseback; and commanding Attalus and Nicanor to pursue the great road which Bessus had followed, advanced in person with his chosen band by a nearer way, which was almost desert, and entirely destitute of water. The natives of the country were his guide. From

the close of the evening till day-break, he had rode nearly fifty miles, when he first discovered the enemy flying in disorder, and unarmed. Probably to facilitate their own escape, Nabarzanes and Barzaentes stabbed Darius, and then rode away with Bessus, accompanied by six hundred horse. Notwithstanding the celerity of Alexander, the unhappy Darius expired before the conqueror beheld him.⁵⁵ Darius was the last king of the house of Hystaspes, and the tenth in succession to the monarchy of Cyrus. That he was neither brave nor prudent, his conduct sufficiently evinces ; but the uninterrupted chain of his calamities would have prevented him (had he been otherwise inclined) from imitating the injustice and cruelty of too many of his predecessors.⁵⁶

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In this important stage of his fortune, Alexander displayed tender sympathy with affliction, warm esteem of fidelity, and just hatred of treason. He gave orders, that the body of Darius

Alexander
pursues
the mur-
derers
of Darius.

⁵⁵ Such is the simple narration of Arrian. The fictions related by Plutarch in *Alexand. & Curtius*, l. v. c. 12. & Justin, l. xi. c. 15. are inconsistent with each other, and all of them betray the desire to contrast the exultation and depression of the fortune of Darius. "He was chained," says Curtius, "with golden fetters ; but laid in a dirty cart, covered with raw hides." His harangue in praise of Alexander would be moral and affecting, were it not totally improbable.

⁵⁶ Arrian makes this judicious observation, which proves the futility of the Oriental traditions representing Darius as a monster of tyranny and cruelty. See D'Herbelot. *Bibl. Orientale*, art. *Darab*. p. 285. Should the fashionable scepticism of the times hesitate between these authorities, the reader has only to ask, what Oriental historian has related the transactions of Darius with the fulness and accuracy so conspicuous in Arrian ?

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should be transported to Persia, and interred in the royal mausoleum. The children of the deceased prince were uniformly treated with those distinctions which belonged to their birth; and Statira⁵⁷, his eldest daughter, was finally espoused by Alexander. The pardon of the Greek mercenaries who were admitted into the Macedonian service, and the honourable reception of Artabazus and his sons, well became the character of a prince, who could discern and reward the merit of his enemies. Alexander then pursued the murderers of Darius through the inhospitable territories of the Arii and Zarangæi, and in two days accomplished a journey of six hundred furlongs. Having received the submission of Aornos⁵⁸ and Bactra, he passed the deep and rapid Oxus, and learned, on the eastern banks of this river, that Bessus, who had betrayed his master, had been betrayed in his turn by Spitamenes. The former was surprised by the Macedonians, and treated with a barbarity⁵⁹ better merited by his own crimes, then becoming the character of Alexander.

The Bactrian and Scythian war.

Spitamenes succeeded to his ambition and danger. In pursuit of this daring rebel, the resentment of Alexander hurried him through the

⁵⁷ Diodor. xviii. 107. Arrian, vii. 4. Plutarch in Alexand.

⁵⁸ We shall meet with another place of this name, between the Suastis and the Indus.

⁵⁹ He was stripped naked, whipped, shamefully mutilated, &c. Arrian arraigns those cruelties, as unworthy of the Grecian character: but he warmly approves the punishing of Bessus, and the other murderers of Darius.

vast but undescribed⁶⁰ provinces of Aria, Bactria, Sogdiana, and other less considerable divisions of the southern region of Tartary. The more northern and independent tribes of that immense country, whose pastoral life formed an admirable preparation for war, ventured to take arms against a conqueror who hovered on the frontier of their plains, and whose camp tempted them with the prospect of a rich plunder. The policy of Spitamenes inflamed their courage, and animated their hopes. These rude nations, and this obscure leader, proved the most dangerous enemies with whom Alexander ever had to contend. Sometimes they faced him in the field, and after obstinately resisting, retreated skillfully. Though never vanquished, Alexander obtained many dear-bought victories. The Scythians on several occasions surprised his advanced parties and interrupted his convoys. The abruptness of their attack was only equalled by the celerity of their retreat; their numbers, their courage, and their stratagems, all rendered them formidable.⁶¹ But the enlightened intrepidity,

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Olymp.
cxii. 4.
cxiii. 1.
A. C. 328

⁶⁰ The erroneous geography of the ancients is laboriously compared with subsequent discoveries in the learned work intitled *Examen des Anciens Historiens d'Alexandre*; and may be seen at one glance, by comparing the maps, usually prefixed to Quintus Curtius, with those of D'Anville.

⁶¹ In one action, Arrian tells us, that only forty Macedonian horsemen, and three hundred foot, escaped. Arrian, l. iv. Curtius mentions another, after which it was made death to divulge the number of the slain. Curtius, l. vii. c. 7. Alexander was not present in either of these engagements; but in a third battle, related by Arrian, the Macedonians were at first repelled, many of them wounded, and the King hit with an arrow, which broke the fibula,

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Alexander
finally re-
duces the
provinces
between

and inimitable discipline of the Greeks and Macedonians, finally prevailed over Barbarian craft, and desultory fury. Not contented with repelling his enemies, Alexander crossed the Jaxartes, and defeated the Scythians²² on the northern bank of that river. This victory was sufficient for his renown; and the urgency of his affairs soon recalled him from an inhospitable desert.

The provinces between the Caspian and the Jaxartes twice rebelled, and twice were reduced to submission. The Barbarians fighting singly

or lesser bone of his leg. The Macedonians, however, rallied, and totally defeated the enemy. Arrian, l. iii. sub fin.

²² Before Alexander passed the Jaxartes, he received an embassy probably from the *Abian* Scythians. Their oration, omitted by all the Greek writers, is preserved in Curtius, l. vii. c. 8. It is remarkable for the bold elevated style, in which these Barbarians display their own advantages, and describe the destructive ambition of the invader. In both respects, it agrees with the admirable harangue of the Caledonian chieftain Galgacus, in Tacitus's *Life of Agricola*. But the glowing sentiments of those independent and high-minded nations are invigorated by the brevity of Tacitus, and weakened by the diffusiveness of Curtius. Both orations abound in metaphors. "Great trees," say the Scythians to Alexander, "require long time to grow; the labour of a few hours levels them with the ground. Take care, least, in climbing to the top, you should fall with the branches which you have seized. Grasp Fortune with both your hands; she is slippery, and cannot be confined. Our countrymen describe her without feet, with hands only, and wings. Those to whom she stretches out her hand, she allows not to touch her wings. Rein your prosperity, that you may the more easily manage it. Our poverty will be swifter, than your army loaded with spoil. We range the plain and the forest; we disdain to serve, and desire not to command." The figurative style of the Scythians is sufficiently consonant to the manners of barbarous nations. See *Principii di Scienza nuova*, vol. i. p. 156. et seq. See likewise Chapters fifth and sixth of the present History. Le Clerc, therefore, speaks inconsiderately when, in arraigning the fidelity of Curtius, he says, "*Scythæ ipsi, omnium literarum rudes, rhetorico calamistro inusti, in medium prodeunt.*" Judic. Curt. p. 326.

were successively subdued ; their bravest troops were gradually intermixed in the Macedonian ranks ; and Alexander, thus continually reinforced by new numbers, was enabled to overawe those extensive countries, by dividing his army into five formidable brigades commanded by Hephæstion, Ptolemy, Perdiccas, Cænus⁶⁶, and himself. Near Gabæ, a fortress of Sogdiana, Cænus attacked and defeated Spitamenes. The Sogdians and Bactrians deserted their unfortunate general, and surrendered their arms to the conqueror. The Massagetæ and other Scythians, having plundered the camp of their allies, fled with Spitamenes to the desert ; but being apprised, that the Macedonians prepared to pursue them, they slew this active and daring chief, whose courage deserved a better fate ; and, in hopes of making their own peace, sent his head to the conqueror.

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the Cas-
pian and
the Jax-
artes.
Olymp.
cxiii. 2.
A. C. 327.

After the death of Spitamenes, the enemy feebly resisted Alexander in the open country : but in the provinces of Sogdiana and Parætacéné, two important fortresses, long deemed impregnable, still bade defiance to the invader. Into the former, Oxyartes the Bactrian, who headed the *rebellion* (for so the Macedonians termed the brave defence of the Bactrians), had placed his wife and children. The rock was steep, rugged, almost inaccessible, and provided with corn for a long siege. The deep snow, by which it was surrounded, increased the difficulty of assaulting

Siege of
the Sog-
dian for-
tress ;
Olymp.
cxiii. 2.
A. C. 327.

⁶⁶ Artabazus, the faithful attendant of Darius, and afterwards the friend of Alexander, was joined in the command with Cænus. Arrian,

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it, and supplied the garrison with water. Alexander, having summoned the Bactrians to surrender, was asked in derision, Whether he had furnished himself with winged soldiers? This insolence piqued his pride; and he determined to make himself master of the place, with whatever difficulties and dangers his undertaking might be attended. This resolution was consonant to his character. His success in arms, owing to the resources of his active and comprehensive mind, sometimes encouraged him to enterprises, neither justified by necessity, nor warranted by prudence. Fond of war, not only as an instrument of ambition, but as an art in which he gloried to excel, he began to regard the means as more valuable than the end, and sacrificed the lives of his men to military experiments alike hazardous and useless: yet, on the present occasion, sound policy seems to have directed his measures. Having determined soon to depart from those provinces, he might judge it imprudent to leave an enemy behind; it might seem necessary to destroy the seeds of future rebellion; and, by exploits unexampled and almost incredible, to impress such terror of his name, as would astonish and overawe his most distant and warlike dependencies.

which is
taken by a
contri-
vance
equally

Alexander carefully examined the Sogdian fortress, and proposed a reward of twelve ⁶¹talents to the man who should first mount the top of the

⁶¹ Above £2000, equal in value to near £20,000 in the present age.

rock on which it was situated. The second and third were to be proportionably rewarded, and even the last of ten was to be gratified with the sum of three hundred darics. The hopes of this recompence, which, in the conception of the Greeks and Macedonians, was equally honourable and lucrative, stimulated the love of adventure, so conspicuous in both nations. Three hundred men, carefully selected from the whole army, were furnished with ropes made of the strongest flax, and with iron pins used in pitching tents. They were likewise provided with small pieces of linen, which, being joined together, might serve as a signal. Thus equipped, they proceeded at the close of evening towards the most abrupt side of the rock, and therefore the most likely to be unguarded. By driving the iron pins into congealed snow, and then fastening to them the ropes, they gradually hoisted themselves up the mountain. In this extraordinary enterprise, thirty men perished, whose bodies were so profoundly buried in the snow, that, notwithstanding the most diligent search, they could never afterwards be recovered. By this simple contrivance, those daring adventurers gained the summit of the rock, which overlooked the fortress; and waving their signal in the morning, were discovered by Alexander. At this joyous sight, he summoned the besieged to surrender to his winged soldiers. The Barbarians beheld and trembled; terror multiplied the number of their enemies, and represented

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ingenious
and dar-
ing.

C H A P. XXXVIII. them as completely armed ; Alexander was invited to take possession of the fortress.⁶⁵

Alexander's generous treatment of Roxana.

This obscure and even nameless castle contained Roxana, daughter of Oxyartes, and deemed, next to the spouse of Darius, the greatest beauty in the East. Alexander admired her form and her accomplishments ; but even in the fervour of youth, and the intoxication of prosperity, his generous mind disdained the cruel rights of a conqueror, as justified by the maxims and example of his age and country. With a moderation and self-command, worthy the scholar of Aristotle, he declined the embraces of his captive, till his condescending affection raised her to the throne, choosing rather to offend the prejudices of the Macedonians, than to transgress the laws of humanity.⁶⁶

The fortress of Chorienes surrenders. Olymp. cxliii. 2. A. C. 327.

In Bactria, Alexander learned that the Parætaceni were in arms, and that many of his most dangerous enemies had shut themselves up in the fortress or rock of Chorienes. Upon this intelligence, he hastened to the Parætacéné hills. The height of the rock, which was every where steep and craggy, he found to be nearly three miles, and its circumference above seven. It was surrounded by a broad and deep ditch, at such distance from the base as placed the garrison beyond the reach of missile weapons. Alexander gave orders that the fir trees, of extraordinary height, which surrounded the mountain, should be cut down, and formed into ladders, by means of which,

⁶⁵ Arrian, p. 91. et seq.

⁶⁶ Id. *ibid.*

his men descending the ditch, drove huge piles into the bottom. These, being placed at proper distances, were covered with hurdles of osier consolidated with earth. In this occupation his whole army were employed by turns, night and day. The Barbarians at first derided this seemingly useless labour. But their insults were soon answered by Macedonian arrows. By these, and other missile weapons, the Macedonians, who were carefully protected by their coverings, so much annoyed the besieged, that the latter became desirous to capitulate. For this purpose, Chorieneſes, from whom the place derived its name, deſired to conſeſs with Oxyartes the Bactrian, who, ſince the taking of his wife and children, had ſubmitted to Alexander. His requeſt being granted, Oxyartes ſtrongly exhorted him to ſurrender his fortress and himſelf, aſſuring him of Alexander's goodneſs, of which his own treatment furniſhed an eminent example, and declaring that no place was impregnable to ſuch troops and ſuch a general. Chorieneſes prudently followed this advice; and, by his ſpeedy ſubmiſſion, not only obtained pardon, but gained the frienſhip of Alexander, who again entrusted him with the command of his fortress, and the government of his province. The vaſt magazines of corn, meat, and wine, collected by the Parætaceni for a long ſiege, afforded a ſeaſonable ſupply to the Macedonian army, eſpecially during the ſeverity of winter, in a country covered with ſnow many feet deep.⁶⁷

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⁶⁷ Arrian, p. 92.

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The virtues displayed by Alexander in making and regulating his conquests.

By such memorable achievements, Alexander subdued the nations between the Caspian sea, the river Jaxartes, and the lofty chain of mountains, which supply the sources of the Indus and the Ganges. In the conduct of this remote and dangerous warfare, the great abilities of the general were conspicuously distinguished. His example taught the troops to despise hunger, fatigue, cold, and danger : neither rugged mountains, nor deep and rapid rivers, nor wounds, nor sickness, could interrupt his progress, or abate his activity ; his courage exposed him to difficulties, from which he was extricated by new efforts of courage, which, in any other commander, would have passed for temerity. Amidst the hardships of a military life, obstinate sieges, bloody battles, and dear-bought victories, he still respected the rights of mankind, and practised the mild virtues of humanity. The conquered nations enjoyed their ancient laws and privileges; the rigours of despotism were softened; arts and industry encouraged ; and the proudest Macedonian governors compelled, by the authority and example of Alexander, to observe the rules of justice towards their meanest⁶⁸ subjects. To bridle the fierce inhabitants of the Scythian plains, he founded cities, and established colonies on the banks of the Jaxartes and the Oxus ; and those destructive campaigns, usually ascribed to his restless activity and blind ambition, appeared to the discernment of this extraordinary man, not only essential to the security of the conquests which he had already made, but necessary pre-

⁶⁸ Plutarch, Arrian, & Curtius, *passim*.

parations for more remote and splendid expeditions which he still purposed to undertake; and which, as will appear in the succeeding chapter, he performed with singular boldness and unexampled success.

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During the three first years that the invincible heroism of Alexander triumphed in the East, the firm vigilance of Antipater repressed rebellion in Greece. But the attention of that general being diverted by a revolt in Thrace, from the affairs of the southern provinces, the Lacedæmonians, instigated by the warlike ambition of their King Agis, ventured to exert that hostility against Macedon which they had long felt and expressed. Reinforced by some communities of the Peloponnesus, which imprudently listened to their counsels, the allied army amounted to twenty-two thousand men. Antipater, having checked the insurrection in Thrace, hastened into the Grecian peninsula with a superior force, and defeated the confederates in a battle, which proved fatal to King Agis, and three thousand Peloponnesian troops. The vanquished were allowed to send ambassadors to implore the clemency of Alexander. From this generous prince, the rebellious republics received promise of pardon, on condition that they punished with due severity the authors of an unprovoked and ill-judged revolt.⁶⁹

Commo-
tions in
Greece
checked by
Antipater.
Olymp.
cxii. 5.
A. C. 330.

From this period, till the death of Alexander, Greece enjoyed, above eight years, an unusual

Tranquil-
lity of that
country

⁶⁹ Diodorus, l. xvii. p. 537. Curtius, l. vi. c. 1.

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during the
subsequent
years of
Alexander's reign.

degree of tranquillity and happiness. The suspicious and severe temper of Antipater was restrained by the commands of his master, who, provided the several republics sent him their appointed contingents of men to reinforce his armies, was unwilling to exact from them any farther mark of submission. Under the protection of this indulgent sovereign, to the glory of whose conquests they were associated, the Greeks still preserved the forms, and displayed the image, of that free constitution of government, whose spirit had animated their ancestors.

Ctesiphon
accused by
Æschines,
and de-
fended by
Demos-
thenes.
Olymp.
cxii. 3.
A. C. 330.

While Alexander pursued the murderers of Darius, Athens was crowded with spectators from the neighbouring republics, to behold a long prepared intellectual conflict between Æschines and Demosthenes, whose rivalry in power and fame had for many years divided the affections of their countrymen. In consequence of a decree proposed by Ctesiphon, we have seen Demosthenes honoured with a golden crown, as the reward of his political merit. His adversary had, even before the death of Philip, denounced the author of this decree as a violator of the laws of his country. 1. Because he had decreed public honours to a man actually entrusted with the public money, and who had not yet passed his accounts. 2. Because, contrary to law, he had advised that the crown conferred on Demosthenes should be proclaimed in the theatre. 3. Because the boasted services of Demosthenes had ended in public disgrace and ruin; and that, instead of being rewarded with a crown, he ought

to be punished as a traitor. Various circumstances, which it is now impossible to explain, retarded the hearing of this important cause, till the sixth year of the reign of Alexander. The triumph of the Macedonians seemed to promise every advantage to Æschines, who had long been the partisan of Philip, and of his magnanimous son; and who, by a stroke aimed at Ctesiphon, meant chiefly to wound Demosthenes, the avowed enemy of both.

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In the oration of Æschines, we find the united powers of reason and argument combined with the most splendid eloquence. Yet the persuasive vehemence of Demosthenes prevailed in the contest. The unexampled exertions⁷⁰, by which he obtained this victory, will be admired to the latest ages of the world. To what an exalted pitch of enthusiasm must the orator have raised himself and his audience, when, to justify his advising the fatal battle of Chæronæa, he exclaimed, "No, my fellow-citizens, you have not erred; No; I swear it by the manes of those heroes who fought in the same cause at Marathon and Plataea." What sublime art was required to arrive, by just degrees, at this lofty or rather gigantic sentiment, which, in any other light than the immitable blaze of eloquence with which it was surrounded, would appear altogether extravagant.

Æschines
banished
for cal-
lunmy.

The orator not only justified Ctesiphon and himself, but procured the banishment of his ad-

Genero-
sity of De-
mosthe-
nes.

⁷⁰ See the Orat. de Coron. throughout.

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versary, as the author of a malignant and calumnious accusation. Honourable as this triumph was, Demosthenes derived more solid glory from the generous treatment of his vanquished rival. Before Æschines set sail, he carried to him a purse of money, which he kindly compelled him to accept; a generosity which made the banished man feel severely the weight of his punishment, and affectingly observe, "How deeply must I regret the loss of a country, in which enemies are more generous than friends elsewhere!" Æschines retired to the isle of Rhodes, and instituted a school of eloquence, which flourished several centuries. It is recorded, that having read to his scholars the oration which occasioned his banishment, it was received with extraordinary applause. But when this applause was redoubled on his reading the answer of Demosthenes, he was so far from testifying envy, that he exclaimed to his audience, "What would have been your admiration, had you heard the orator himself!"

His death.
Olymp.
cxiv. 3.
A. C. 322.

Demosthenes survived Alexander, whose magnanimity disdained to punish an enemy whom he scarcely regarded as dangerous. But this illustrious Athenian patriot fell a prey to the more suspicious policy of Antipater. At the desire of that prince, he was banished Athens, and being pursued by Macedonian assassins to the little island of Calauria, he ended his life by poison.⁷¹

The sentence of
the Athe-

It may be thought, that the conqueror of the Persian empire would have little leisure, or incli-

⁷¹ Plut. in Demosthen. & Lucian. Demosthen. Encom.

nation, to attend to a personal altercation between two Athenian orators ; and that neither the impeachment nor the defence of Demosthenes could affect his pride or his interest. It deserves to be considered, however, that this orator was the inveterate, and long the successful, opponent of the greatness of his family ; and, in the beginning of his own reign, had attempted, with more courage, indeed, than prudence, to overturn the yet unconsolidated pillar of his fortune. But whatever indifference Alexander, who was carefully informed of the transactions of Greece, might testify amidst the honours of Demosthenes, it cannot be believed that he heard with total unconcern the sentence of the Athenian people ; a sentence which reversed the decision of fortune, and arraigned the cruel and melancholy triumph of Philip over the liberties of Greece. That he never resented the indignity, is a proof of his moderation ; and that the Athenians could venture on a measure so offensive, is a proof of the freedom and security which they enjoyed under the Macedonian government.

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nians in
favour of
Demos-
thenes, ho-
nourable
to the mo-
deration of
Alexan-
der.

Deprived indeed of the honour, but also delivered from the cares, of independent sovereignty, and undisturbed by those continual and often bloody dissensions, which deform the annals of their tumultuous liberty, the Greeks indulged their natural propensity to the social embellishments of life ; a propensity by which they were honourably distinguished above all other nations of antiquity. Their innumerable shows, festivals, and dramatic entertainments, were exhibited with

State of
Greece
during the
latter years
of the
reign of
Alexan-
der.

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more pomp than at any former period. The schools of philosophers and rhetoricians were frequented by all descriptions of men. Painting and statuary were cultivated with equal ardour and success. Many improvements were made in the sciences; and, as will appear more fully hereafter, the Greeks, and the Athenians in particular, still rivalled the taste and genius, though not the spirit and virtue, of their ancestors. Yet even in this degenerate state, when patriotism and true valour were extinct, and those vanquished republicans had neither liberties to love, nor country to defend, their martial honours were revived and brightened by an association with the renown of their conqueror. Under Alexander, their exploits, though directed to very different purposes, equalled, perhaps excelled, the boasted trophies of Marathon and Plataea. By a singularity peculiar to their fortune, the æra of their political disgrace coincides with the most splendid period of their military glory. Alexander was himself a Greek; his kingdom had been founded by a Grecian colony; and, to revenge the wrongs of that nation, he undertook and accomplished the most extraordinary enterprises recorded in the history of the world.

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Alexander's Indian Expedition. — Route pursued by the Army. — Aornos taken. — Nysa and Mount Meros. — Alexander passes the Indus and Hydaspes. — Defeats Porus. — Founds Nicæa and Bucephalia. — Passes the Acesines and Hydraotes. — Sangala taken. — Eastern Boundary of Alexander's Conquests. — He sails down the Hydaspes. — Takes the Mallian fortress. — His march through the Gedrosian Desert. — Voyage of Nearchus. — Alexander improves the internal State of his Conquests. — Incorporates the Barbarian Levies with the Greeks and Macedonians. — Intermarriages of the Europeans and Asiatics. — Artifices to prevent Alexander's Return to Babylon. — His Death, and Character. — Division of his Conquests. — Subsequent History of Egypt and Syria. — The Western Division of Alexander's Empire conquered by the Romans. — State of Greece after the Age of Alexander.

By just views of policy, rather than the madness of ambition, Alexander was carried to the rugged banks of the Oxus and the Iaxartes. The fierce nations of those inhospitable regions had, in ancient times, repeatedly over-run the more wealthy and more civilized provinces of Asia. Without diffusing through the Scythian plains the terror of his name, the conqueror could not have securely enjoyed the splendour of Susa and Babylon; nor without the assistance of numerous and warlike levies, raised in those barbarous countries, could

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Alexander
under-
takes his
Indian ex-
pedition.
Olymp.
cxliii. 2.
A. C. 327.

C H A P
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he have prudently undertaken his Indian expedition. For this remote and dangerous enterprise, he prepared early in the spring; Amyntas being appointed governor of Bactria, and entrusted with a sufficient strength to overawe the surrounding provinces.

Traverses
the Paro-
pamisus.

With all the remainder of his forces, Alexander hastened southwards, and in ten days' march traversed the Paropamisus, a link of that immense chain of mountains, reaching from the coast of Cilicia to the sea of China. This southern belt, distinguished in different portions of its length by the various names of Taurus, Paropamisus, Imaus, and Edmodus, the Greeks confounded¹ with the northern chain, of which Scythian Caucasus is a part, and whose remote branches extend from the shores of the Euxine to the eastern extremity of Tartary. Such is the strong frame which supports the ponderous mass of Asia. The intermediate space, especially towards the central country of Bucharia, is far more elevated than any other portion of the ancient continent²; and the towering heights of Paropamisus had hitherto defended (if we except the obscure expedition of Darius) the feeble majesty of India against the ravagers of the earth. The difficulties of this celebrated

¹ The errors of Diodorus, l. xvii. p. 553. and of Curtius, l. vii. c. iii. are avoided by Arrian, l. v. p. 103. and by Strabo, l. xv. p. 724. See also Arrian. Indic. c. 2.

² That is, the Asia known to the ancients; for, by barometrical observations, many parts of Chinese Tartary are 15,000 feet above the Yellow sea; and the highlands there are far more elevated than those of Bucharia. Conf. Pallas Act. Petropol. an. 1777. Staunton's China, vol. ii. p. 206. Kirwan's Geological Essays, p. 26. et seq.

journey have, perhaps, been rather exaggerated than described, by the historians of Alexander. Yet our indulgence may pardon the fanciful² expressions of antiquity, when we read in the work of a modern writer of acknowledged veracity, "Those mountains are covered with ice; the cold which I suffered was extreme; the country presents a melancholy image of death and horror."³

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But the rugged nature of the country was not the only difficulty with which the Macedonians had to struggle. The northern regions of India were inhabited in ancient, as they are still in modern times, by men of superior strength and courage⁴; and the vigorous resistance made by the natives of those parts, rendered it as difficult for Alexander to penetrate into the Indian peninsula by land, as it has always been found easy by the maritime powers of Europe, to invade and subdue the unwarlike inhabitants of its coasts.

Difficulty
of pene-
trating in-
to India
by land.

The experienced leader seems to have conducted his army by the route of Candahar, well known to the caravans of Agra and Ispahan. Having reached the banks of the Cophenes, he divided his forces; the greater part he retained under his immediate command; the remainder were detached, under Hephæstion and Perdikkas, to clear the road to the Indus, and to make all necessary preparations for crossing that river. After many severe conflicts, he subdued the Aspîi, Thyræi, Arasaci, and Assaceni; scoured

Route
pursued
by Alex-
ander.

² Curtius, l. vii. c. 3.

³ See "Le Voyage du Pere Desideri." It was performed in the year 1715. *Lettres Edifiantes*, xv. 185.

⁴ Arrian, p. 97. et seq.

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Aornos
taken.

the banks of the Choas and Cophenes; expelled the Barbarians from their fastnesses; and drove them towards their northern mountains, which supply the sources of the Oxus and the Indus.

Near the western margin of the latter, one place, defended by the Baziri⁴, still defied his assaults. This place, called by the Greeks Aornos, afforded refuge not only to the Baziri, but to the most warlike of their neighbours, after their other strong-holds had surrendered. From its description, it appears to have been admirably adapted to the purpose of a long and vigorous defence. Mount Aornos was two hundred furlongs in circuit; eleven in height, where lowest; accessible by only one dangerous path cut in the rock by art; containing, near the top, a plentiful spring of water, a thick and lofty wood, together with a sufficient quantity of arable land to employ the labour of a thousand men. An emulation of glory prompted Alexander to make himself master of a place, which fable described as impregnable to the greatest heroes of antiquity.⁵ By the volun-

⁴ It is worthy of remark, that the descendants of Alexander's followers have been recognised in Bijore, the country of the Baziri. Several oriental writers, particularly the author of the *Ayin Acharee*, maintain this fact; the bare report of which argues a perfect conviction in the minds of the natives, that Alexander subjected Bijore, and transferred his conquests to his countrymen. Rennell's *Memoir*, 2d edition, p. 163.

⁵ Arrian, p. 98. who supplies the particulars in the text, says, that he knows not whether it was the Grecian, Tyrian, or Egyptian Hercules, who laid siege unsuccessfully to Aornos. He doubts whether any of them ever penetrated to India; adding, that the name of Hercules appears to him to have been employed, on this occasion, as on many others, "εις πομπήν του λόγου," "as an ostentatious fiction."

tary assistance and direction of some neighbouring tribes, hostile to the Baziri, Ptolemy ascended part of the rock unperceived; Alexander, with his usual diligence, raised a mount, erected his engines, and prepared to annoy the enemy. But, before he had an opportunity to employ the resources of his genius, by which he had taken places still stronger than Aornos, the garrison sent a herald, under pretence of surrendering on terms, but in reality with a view to protract negotiation during the whole day, and at night to effect their escape. Alexander, who suspected this intention, met their art with similar address. Patiently waiting till the Indians descended the mountain, he took possession of the strong-hold which they had abandoned, having previously posted a proper detachment to intercept the fugitives, and punish their perfidy.

The Macedonians proceeded southward from Aornos, into the country between the Cophenes and the Indus. In this fertile district, the army, as it advanced towards Mount Meros and the celebrated Nysa, was met by a deputation from the citizens of that place, which (could we believe historic flattery) had been founded in the heroic or rather in the fabulous ages, by a Grecian colony under Bacchus⁶ at the eastern extremity of his conquests. These wandering *Greeks*, might we indulge for a moment the supposition that the inhabitants of Nysa were really entitled to that name, appear in this Indian soil to have degenerated from the courage, while they preserved

Alexander
marches to
Nysa and
Mount
Meros.

⁶ Arrian Indic. c. 1.

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the policy, the eloquence, and the artifices, of their European brethren. Being immediately conducted to Alexander, who had just sat down in his tent, covered with sweat and dust, and still armed with his casque and lance, they testified great horror at his aspect, and threw themselves prostrate on the ground. The King having raised them from this humiliating posture, and addressed them with his usual condescension, they recovered sufficient boldness to entreat him to spare their country and their liberties, for the sake of Bacchus their founder. In proof of this allegation, they insisted on the name Nysa, derived from the nurse⁷ of Bacchus, and on the abundance, not only of vines and laurel, but of ivy, which grew in *their* territory, and in no other part of India. Alexander, willing to admit a pretension, which might attest to succeeding ages that he had carried his conquests still farther than Bacchus⁸, readily granted their request.

⁷ The respect shewn by the Greeks to their nurses is well known, and is attested by the tragedians. In this respect, the modern Greeks still imitate their ancestors. The word employed to signify a nurse, properly denotes "a second mother." See Monsieur Guy's *Voyage Litteraire de la Grèce*, Lettre v.

⁸ Eratosthenes the Cyrenian, and many other ancient writers, asserted, that the fictions concerning Bacchus's expedition to the East, were invented by the flatterers of Alexander. But Strabo justly observes that the belief of that expedition long preceded the age of the son of Philip. To justify this observation, he cites the verses of Sophocles and Euripides. The latter of these poets, in the prologue to his *Bacchæ*, introduces Bacchus, saying, that he had come to Thebes, and adorned with vines the temple of Semele.

Λικων δὲ Λυδων τὰς πολλὰ χρυσὰς γυὰς
 Φρυγῶν τε Περσῶν δ' ἡλιοβλήτους πλάκας,
 Βακτρυὰ τε τειχὴ τὴν τε δυσχείμον χθονά
 Μῆδων, ἐκέθων Ἀραβίαν τ' εὐδαίμονα

Having understood that Nysa was governed by an aristocracy, he demanded, as hostages, an hundred of their principal citizens, and three hundred of their cavalry. This demand excited the smile of Acuphis, who headed the embassy. Alexander desired him to interpret his smile. He replied, "O king! you are welcome to three hundred of our horsemen, and more, should you require them. But can you believe it possible that any city should long continue safe, after losing an hundred of its most virtuous citizens? Instead of one hundred of the best, should you be contented with two hundred of the worst, men in

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Ἀσίαν τε πᾶσαν, ἥ παρ Ἀλμυραν ἄλα
κεῖται, μάλασιν Ἑλλήσι Βαρβαροῖς· δ' ὁμοῦ
Πληρεὶς ἔχουσα καλλιπυργατοῦς πόλεις.

"Leaving the golden fields of the Lydians, the sun-beat plains of Phrygia and Persia, the Bactrian fortresses, and the wintry storms of the Medes — having over-run happy Arabia, and the maritime provinces of Asia, crowned with fair turretted cities, inhabited by mingled Greeks and Barbarians." Sophocles mentions Nyssa in particular, *Βροτοῖσι κλεινὴν Νύσσαν*. Vide Strabo, l. xv. p. 687. Notwithstanding such respectable authorities for the vulgar tradition, both Strabo and Arrian treat the expedition of Bacchus to India as a fable; the geographer on the following grounds: 1. Because the relations of authors on this subject are totally inconsistent. 2. Because many of the writers who accompanied Alexander are altogether silent concerning this matter. 3. Because the intermediate countries, between Greece and India, possess no monuments of this pretended expedition. Strabo, p. 688. The philosophical historian discovers his sentiments to be the same with Strabo's, but expresses himself with more tenderness for the popular superstition, concluding, "οὐκ ἀκριβὴ ἐξέτασθαι χρὴ εἶναι τῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Διου, ἐκ παλαιου, μεμνημένων;" "that the traditions of the ancients concerning the Gods ought not to be too carefully sifted." Arrian, p. 101. An observation which might have merited the attention of those who, in later times, have ventured to explain historically, or to analyse, the Grecian mythology.

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Alexander
passes the
Indus, and
receives
the sub-
mission of
Taxiles.

Nysa, be assured that, at your return, you will find this country in as flourishing a condition as when you left it." Pleased with his address, Alexander remitted his demand of the magistrates; he was accompanied by the cavalry, and by the son and nephew of Acuphis, who were ambitious to learn the art of war under such an accomplished general.

The transactions which we have described, and a march of sixteen days from the Oxus to the Indus, allowed time for Hephæstion and Perdiccas to make the preparations necessary for passing the latter river, probably by a bridge of boats.⁹ On the eastern bank, Alexander received the submission of the neighbouring princes. Of these, Taxiles, who was the most considerable, brought, besides other valuable presents, the assistance of seven thousand Indian horse, and surrendered his capital, Taxila, the most wealthy and populous city between the Indus and Hy-

⁹ Arrian, p. 100 & 105. leaves it uncertain in what manner the bridge was constructed. Neither that accurate writer, nor the other careless describers of the exploits of Alexander, ascertain the pass of the Indus, at which the Macedonians crossed that river. Major Rennell, late surveyor-general of Bengal, has the following observations in his admirable memoir on the map of Indostan: "I take it for granted, that Alexander crossed the Indus at the place where the city of Attock now stands; as it appears to have been in all ages the pass on the Indus leading from the countries of Cabul and Candahar into India. . . . Attock must then stand on the site of the Taxila of Alexander. From thence, as his intention seems to have been to penetrate by the shortest way to the Ganges, he would proceed by the ordinary road to that part of the bank of the Hydaspes (or Behat) where the fortress of Rotas now stands; and here he put in execution his stratagem for crossing the river, whilst the opposite shore was possessed by Porus." Of which more in the text.

daspes. But the King, who never allowed himself to be outdone in generosity, restored and augmented the dominions of Taxiles.

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The army crossed the Indus about the time of the summer solstice, at which season the Indian rivers are swelled by heavy rains, as well as by the melted snow, which descends in torrents from Paropamisus. Trusting to this circumstance, Porus, a powerful and warlike prince, had encamped on the Shantrou, or Hydaspes, with thirty thousand foot, four thousand horse, three hundred armed chariots, and two hundred elephants. At an inconsiderable distance from the main body, his son commanded a detachment, consisting of the same kind of forces, which were all well accoutred and excellently disciplined. Alexander perceived the difficulty of passing the Hydaspes in the face of this formidable host ; a difficulty which must be greatly increased by the elephants, whose noise, and smell, and aspect, were alike terrible to cavalry. He therefore collected provisions on the opposite bank, and industriously gave out that he purposed to delay passing the river till a more favourable season. This artifice deluded not the Indians ; and Porus kept his post. The King next had recourse to a different stratagem. Having posted his cavalry in separate detachments along the river, he commanded them to raise in the night loud shouts of war, and to fill the bank with agitation and tumult, as if they had determined at all hazards to effect their passage. The noise roused the enemy, and Porus

Prepares to pass the Hydaspes, notwithstanding the opposition of Porus.

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conducted his elephants wherever the danger threatened. This scene was repeated several successive nights ; during which the Barbarians were fatigued and harassed by perpetual alarms. Porus discovering, as he fondly believed, that nothing was intended by this vain noise, but merely to disturb his repose, at length desisted from following the motions of the Macedonian cavalry, and remained quiet in his encampment, having stationed proper guards on the bank.¹⁰

Disposi-
tions for
that pur-
pose.

The false security of Porus enabled Alexander to effect his long-meditated purpose. At the distance of about eighteen miles from his camp, and at the principal winding of the Hydaspes, there stood a lofty rock, thickly covered with trees ; and near to this rock, an island, likewise over-run with wood, and uninhabited. Such scenery was favourable for concealment : it immediately suggested to Alexander the design of passing the river with a strong detachment, which he resolved to command in person, as he seldom did by others what he could himself perform ; and, amidst the variety of operations, always claimed for his own, the task of importance or danger. The Macedonian phalanx, the new levies from Paropamisus, together with the Indian auxiliaries, and one division of the cavalry, remained under the command of Craterus. They had orders to amuse the enemy by making fires in the night, and by preparing openly, during day time, to cross the Hydaspes. While these

¹⁰ Arrian, l. v. p. 107. et seq.

operations were carrying on by Craterus, Alexander having collected hides and boats, marched up the country with a choice body of light infantry, the Archers and Agrians, the Bactrian, Scythian, and Parthian ¹¹ cavalry, together with a due proportion of heavy-armed troops; the whole a well-assorted brigade, adapted to every mode of warfare required by the nature of the ground, the arms or disposition of the enemy. Having receded from the bank to a distance sufficiently remote for eluding the observation of Porus, he advanced towards the rock and island; and in this secure post prepared to embark, after taking such precautions against the vicissitudes of war and fortune, as could be suggested only by the most profound military genius. The orders given to Craterus were precise: should the Indians perceive, and endeavour to interrupt the passage to the rock and island, he was in that case to hasten over with his cavalry; otherwise not to stir from his post, until he observed Porus advancing against Alexander, or flying from the field. At an equal distance between the bank where Alexander meant to pass, and the camp where Craterus lay, Attalus and Meleager were posted with a powerful body of mercenaries, consisting chiefly of Indian mountaineers, who had been defeated by the Macedonians, and taken into pay by the conqueror. To provide for any unforeseen accident, sentinels

¹¹ Arrian. calls them the Dahæ; they were *ἰπποπόται*, "archers on horseback." Arrian, l. v. p. 109.

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The pas-
sage ef-
fected.

were placed along the bank, at convenient distances, to observe and repeat signals.

Fortune favoured these judicious dispositions. A violent tempest concealed from the enemy's outguards the tumult of preparation; the clash of armour and the voice of command being overpowered by the complicated crash of rain and thunder. When the storm somewhat abated, the horse and infantry, in such proportions as both the boats and hides could convey, passed over, unperceived, into the island. Alexander led the line, accompanied in his vessel of thirty oars by Seleucus, Ptolemy, Perdicas, and Lysimachus; names destined to fill the ancient world, when their renown was no longer repressed by the overwhelming greatness of their master's glory.

The King first reached the opposite bank, in sight of the enemy's out-guards, who hastened, in trepidation, to convey the unwelcome intelligence to Porus. The Macedonians meanwhile formed in order of battle; but, before meeting their enemies, they had to struggle with an unforeseen difficulty. The coast on which he landed was the shore of another island, disjoined from the continent by a river commonly fordable, but actually so much swelled by the rains of the preceding night, that the water reached the breasts of the men, and the necks of the horses. Having passed this dangerous stream with his cavalry and targeteers, Alexander advanced with all possible expedition, considering, that should Porus offer battle, these forces would resist till joined by the heavy infantry; but should the Indians

be struck with panic at his unexpected passage of the Hydaspes, the light-armed troops would thus be in time to attack and pursue them with advantage.

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Upon the first alarm given by his out-guards, Porus detached his son to oppose the landing of the enemy with two thousand horse, and one hundred and twenty armed chariots. These forces, arriving too late to defend the bank, were speedily broken and put to flight by the equestrian archers; their leader and four hundred horsemen were slain; most of the chariots were taken, the slime of the river, which rendered them unserviceable in the action, likewise interrupting their flight.

Porus's
son de-
feated and
slain.

The sad news of this discomfiture deeply afflicted Porus; but his immediate danger allowed not time for reflection. Craterus visibly prepared to pass the river, and to attack him in front; his flanks were threatened with the shock of the Macedonian horse, elated by recent victory. In this emergency the Indian appears to have acted with equal prudence and firmness. Unable to oppose this complicated assault, he left part of the elephants under a small guard, to frighten rather than resist, Craterus's cavalry; while, at the head of his whole army, he marched in person to meet the more formidable division of his enemies, commanded by their King. His horse amounted to four, and his foot to thirty thousand; but the part of his strength in which he seemed most to confide, consisted of three hundred armed chariots, and two hundred ele-

Disposi-
tions made
by Porus
for resist-
ing the
enemy.

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phants. With these forces, Porus advanced, until he found a plain sufficiently dry and firm for his chariots to wheel. He then arranged his elephants at intervals of an hundred feet: in these intervals he placed his infantry, a little behind the line. By this order of battle, he expected to intimidate the enemy, since their horse, he thought, would be deterred from advancing at sight of the elephants; and their infantry, he imagined, would not venture to attack the Indians in front, while they must be themselves exposed to be attacked in flank, and trampled under foot by those terrible animals. At either extremity of the line, the elephants bore huge wooden towers, filled with armed men. The cavalry formed the wings, covered in front with the armed chariots.

Skilful
manœu-
vres of the
Macedoni-
an army.

Alexander by this time appeared at the head of the royal cohort, and equestrian archers. Perceiving that the enemy had already prepared for battle, he commanded a halt, until the heavy-armed troops should join. This being effected, he allowed them time to rest and recover strength, carefully encircling them with the cavalry; and meanwhile examined, with his usual diligence, the disposition of the Indians. Upon observing their order of battle, he immediately determined not to attack them in front, in order to avoid encountering the difficulties which Porus had artfully thrown in his way; and at once resolved on an operation, which, with such troops as those whom he commanded, could scarcely fail to prove decisive. By intricate and skilful manœuvres,

altogether unintelligible to the Indians, he moved imperceptibly towards their left wing with the flower of his cavalry. The remainder, conducted by Cænus, stretched towards the right, having orders to wheel at a given distance, that they might attack the Indians in rear, should they wait to receive the shock of Alexander's squadrons. A thousand equestrian archers directed their rapid course towards the same wing; while the Macedonian foot remained firm in its post, waiting the event of this complicated assault, which appears to have been conducted with the most precise observance of time and distance.

The Indian horse, harassed by the equestrian archers, and exposed to the danger of being surrounded, were obliged to form into two divisions, of which one prepared to resist Alexander, and the other faced about to meet Cænus. But this evolution so much disordered their ranks and dejected their courage, that they were totally unable to stand the shock of the Macedonian cavalry, which surpassed them as much in strength and spirit, as it excelled them in discipline. The fugitives took refuge, as behind a line of friendly towers, in the intervals that had been left between the elephants. These fierce animals were then conducted against the enemy's horse; which movement was no sooner observed by the infantry, than they seasonably advanced, and galled the assailants with darts and arrows. Wherever the elephants turned, the Macedonians opened their ranks, finding it dangerous to resist them with a close and deep phalanx. Mean-

The battle
of the Hy-
daspes.

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while, the Indian cavalry rallied, and were repelled with greater loss than before. They again sought the same friendly retreat ; but their flight was now intercepted, and themselves almost entirely surrounded, by the Macedonian horse ; at the same time that the elephants, having lost their riders, enraged at being pent up within a narrow space, and furious through their wounds, proved more formidable to friends than foes, because the Macedonians, having the advantage of an open ground, could every where give vent to their fury.¹¹

The Indians defeated.

The battle was decided before the division, under Craterus, passed the river. But the arrival of these fresh troops rendered the pursuit peculiarly destructive. The unfortunate Porus lost both his sons, all his captains, twenty thousand foot, and three thousand horse. The elephants, spent with fatigue, were slain or taken ; even the armed chariots were hacked in pieces, having proved formidable in show only, could we believe that little more than three hundred men perished on the side of Alexander. An obvious inconsistency too often appears in the historians of that conqueror.¹² With a view to enhance his merit, they describe and exaggerate the valour and resistance of his enemies ; but,

¹¹ Arrian, p. 112.

¹² See Arrian, p. 113. The observation applies not, however, to that historian, but rather to Ptolemy and Aristobulus, from whom he derived his materials ; nor could it be expected that those generals should preserve perfect impartiality in relating the exploits of a master whom they admired.

in computing the numbers of the slain, they be-
come averse to allow this valour and resistance
to have produced their adequate effects.

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The Indian King having behaved with great
gallantry in the engagement, was the last to
leave the field. His flight being retarded by his
wounds, he was overtaken by Taxiles, whom
Alexander entrusted with the care of seizing him
alive. But Porus, perceiving the approach of a
man, who had long been his enemy, turned his
elephant, and prepared to renew the combat.
Alexander then dispatched to him Meroé, an
Indian of distinction, who, he understood, had
formerly lived with Porus in habits of friendship.
By the entreaties of Meroé, the high-minded
prince, spent with thirst and fatigue, was finally
persuaded to surrender; and being refreshed
with drink and repose, was conducted into the
presence of the conqueror. Alexander admired
his stature (for he was above seven feet high)
and the majesty of his person; but he admired
still more his courage and magnanimity. Having
asked in what he could oblige him? Porus an-
swered, "By acting like a King." — "That,"
said Alexander with a smile, "I should do for
my own sake, but what can I do for yours?"
Porus replied, "All my wishes are contained in
that one request."¹⁸ None ever discerned virtue

Courage
and mag-
nanimity
of Porus.

Rewarded
by Alex-
ander.

¹⁸ The modern histories of Alexander universally misrepresent
this conference. All of them, as far as I know, make Porus say,
"that he desires to be treated like a King;" an explanation which
cannot be reconciled with Alexander's reply, *Τούτο μὲν εἶμι σοι Πωρε
μοῦ ἐνεκα*· σὺ δὲ σ' αὐτοῦ ἐνεκα δ, τι σοι φίλον αἰοῦ? · "I will act towards

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Founda-
tion of
Nicæa and
Bucepha-
lia.

better than Alexander, or was more studious to reward it. Struck with the firmness of Porus, he declared him reinstated on his throne; acknowledged him for his ally and his friend; and, having soon afterwards received the submission of the Glausæ, who possessed thirty-seven cities on his eastern frontier, the least of which contained five thousand, and many of the greatest above ten thousand inhabitants, he added this populous province to the dominions of his new confederate. Immediately after the battle, he interred the slain, performed the accustomed sacrifices, and exhibited gymnastic and equestrian games on the banks of the Hydaspes. Before leaving that river, he founded two cities, Nicæa and Bucephalia: the former was so called, to commemorate the victory gained near the place where it stood: the latter, situate on the opposite bank, was named in honour of his horse Bucephalus¹⁴, who died there, worn out by age and fatigue. A large division of the army remained under the command of Craterus, to build and fortify these new cities.

you, O Porus! as becomes a king, on my own account: but what do you desire that I should do on yours?"

¹⁴ This generous animal, who had so long shared the toils and dangers of his master, had formerly received signal marks of royal regard. Having disappeared in the country of the Uxii, Alexander issued a proclamation, commanding his horse to be restored, otherwise he would ravage the whole country with fire and sword. This command was immediately obeyed. "So dear," says Arrian, "was Bucephalus to Alexander, and so terrible was Alexander to the Barbarians." Arrian, p. 114.

In promoting the success of Alexander, the fame of his generosity conspired with the force of his arms. Without encountering any memorable resistance, he reduced the dominions of another prince named Porus, and the valuable country between the Acesines and the Hydraotes. In effecting this conquest, the obstacles of nature were the principal, or rather the only, enemies with whom he had to contend. The river Acesines, fifteen furlongs broad, is deep and rapid; many parts of its channel are filled with large and sharp rocks, which, opposing the rapidity of the stream, occasion loud and foaming billows, mixed with boiling eddies and whirlpools, equally frightful, and still more dangerous. Of the Macedonians, who attempted to pass in boats, many drove against the rocks, and perished; but such as employed hides, reached the opposite shore in safety. The Hydraotes is of the same breadth with the Acesines, but flows with a gentle current. On its eastern bank, Alexander learned that the Cathaei, Malli, and other independent Indian tribes, prepared to resist his progress. They had encamped on the side of the hill, near the city Sangala, two days' march from the Hydraotes; and, instead of a breast-work, had fortified themselves with a triple row of carriages. Alexander advanced with his cavalry; the Indians stirred not from their post, but, mounting their carriages, poured forth a shower of missile weapons. Alexander perceiving the cavalry unfit for such a warfare, immediately dismounted, and

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Alexander
passes the
Acesines
and Hy-
draotes.

G H A P. conducted a battalion of foot against the enemy.
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Sangala
 besieged
 and taken.

The walls of that place were too extensive to be completely invested. On one side, the town was skirted by a lake, long and broad, but not deep. Alexander suspecting that the Indians, intimidated by their former defeat, would attempt to escape in the night, caused the lake to be surrounded with his cavalry. This precaution was attended with success. The foremost of the Indians were cut to pieces by the advanced guards of the Macedonian horse ; the rest escaped with difficulty to Sangala. Alexander then surrounded the greatest part of the town with a rampart and a ditch, and prepared to advance his engines to batter the walls, when he was informed by some deserters, that the enemy still resolved, that very night, to steal, if possible, through the lake ; if not, to force their way with their whole strength. Upon this intelligence Alexander posted Ptolemy the son of Lagus, with three thousand targeteers, one troop of archers, and all the Agrians, upon the spot where he sagaciously conjectured that the besieged would attempt to force their passage. At the first sound of the trumpet, the other commanders were to advance to the assistance of Ptolemy. Alexander declared his intention to share the common danger. By this judicious

disposition, the enemy were successfully repelled, after leaving five hundred men on the place. Meanwhile Porus, Alexander's principal ally in those parts, arrived in the camp with five thousand Indians, and a considerable number of elephants. Encouraged by this reinforcement, the Macedonians prepared to terminate the siege. The engines were got ready; the wall, built of brick, was undermined; the scaling ladders were fixed; several breaches were made; and the town was taken by assault. Seventeen thousand Indians are said to have perished in the sack of Sangala; above seventy thousand were taken prisoners; Sangala was razed: its confederates submitted or fled. Above an hundred Macedonians fell in the siege or assault; twelve hundred were wounded.

The persevering intrepidity of Alexander thus rendered him master of the valuable country, now called the Punjab, watered by the five great streams whose confluence forms the Indus.¹⁵ The banks of the Hyphasis, the most eastern of these rivers, which he actually intended to cross, allured

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Eastern
boundary
of Alex-
ander's
conquests.

¹⁵ The Gentoos distinguish Alexander by the epithets of Mhah, Dukkoyt, and Koonneah, "the great robber and assassin;" but most of the Oriental traditions are highly honourable to that prince, and extol his humanity not less than his prowess. The high idea entertained of him by the Indians, appears from their ascribing to his taste and magnificence the most remarkable monuments scattered over their immense country. See l'Examen Critique, p. 143. & seq. M. Anquetil's Zend Avesta, t. i. p. 392. and Mr. Howell's Religion of the Gentoos, P. ii. p. 5.

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by the flattering description of the adjoining territory, were adorned by twelve Macedonian altars, equal in height, and exceeding in bulk, the greatest towers in that country. These monuments, erected midway between Dehli and Lahor¹⁶, marked the extremity of Alexander's em-

¹⁶ Probably near the place where the great western road passes between those cities. See D'Anville Geogr. Ancienne, and Gibbon's Hist. vol. i. c. 2. Major Rennell, however, in his admirable Memoir on the new Map of Hindostan, assigns reasons for believing that Alexander was not so high up the river. "After crossing," says he, "the Acesines, or Jenaub, and the Hydraotes or Ravee, which latter he may be supposed to cross at the place where Lahor now stands, he appears to be drawn out of the direct rout towards the Ganges, to attack the city of Sangala, most probably lying between Lahor and Moultan. From Sangala he proceeded to the Hyphasis, or Setlege, most probably between Adjodin and Debalpour, by the circumstance of the deserts lying between him and the Ganges; for the country between the Beath and the Ganges is fertile, and well inhabited, but that between the lower parts of the Setlege and the Ganges has really a desert in it, as Timur experienced in his march from Adjodin to Balnir. The distance between Alexander's position on the Hyphasis and the Jumma, as given by Pliny, accords with this opinion. He gives it as three hundred and thirty-six Roman miles, which, by a proper proportional scale, formed from his distances in known places, reaches from the banks of the Jumma to a point a little below the conflux of the Beath and Setlege. But had Alexander been as high up the river as the place where the great western road crosses from Lahor to Delhi, he would have been only two hundred and fifty such miles from the Jumma. This opinion is strengthened by the account of what happened immediately after; I mean his recrossing the Hydraotes, and then encamping on the bank of the Acesines, in a low situation, and where the whole country was flooded on the coming on of the periodical rains; which circumstance obliged him to move his camp higher up the river, into a more elevated country. This agrees perfectly with the description of the country. The lower parts of the courses of the Jenaub, and Ravee are really through a low country; and these are also the

pire; an empire thus limited, not by the difficulties of the country, or the opposition of enemies, but by the **immoveable** and unanimous resolution of his European troops.

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Invincible by his enemies, Alexander submitted to his friends, at whose desire he set bounds to his trophies in the East. But his restless curiosity prepared new toils and dangers for the army and himself. Having returned to the cities Nicæa and Bucephalia, he divided his forces, for the sake of exploring more carefully the unknown regions of India. Two divisions, respectively commanded by Craterus and Hephæstion (for Cænus was now dead), had orders to march southward along the opposite banks of the Hydaspes. Philip, to whom he had committed the government of the provinces adjacent to Bactria, was recalled with the troops under his command; and the whole Macedonian conquests in India, including seven nations and above two thousand cities, were subjected to the dominion of Porus.

Alexander sails down the Hydaspes, accompanied by his army. Olymp. cxiii. 3. A. C. 326.

parts nearest to Adjodin and Debalpour, between which places, I suppose, Alexander's altars were erected." The desert on the eastern bank of the Hyphasis, between Alexander and the Ganges, is to be found in Diodorus, l. xvii. p. 612., and in the romantic description of Curtius, l. ix. c. 2. The existence of such a desert, at the extremity of Alexander's conquests, is scarcely reconcilable with Arrian, l. v. p. 119. who says, "that the country beyond the Hyphasis was rich and fertile, the inhabitants industrious and brave; governed by a moderate aristocracy; flourishing in peace and plenty; possessing a great number of elephants, and those of superior strength and stature."

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Meanwhile the Ionians, Cyprians, Phoenicians, and other maritime nations, who followed the standard of Alexander, industriously built, or collected, above two thousand vessels¹⁷, for sailing down the Hydaspes till its junction with the Indus, and thence along that majestic stream to the Indian ocean. On board this fleet the King

¹⁷ "It may appear extraordinary," says Mr. Rennell, "that Alexander should, in the course of a few months, prepare so vast a fleet for his voyage down the Indus; especially as it is said to be the work of his army. But the Punjab country, like that of Bengal, is full of navigable rivers, which, communicating with the Indus, form an uninterrupted navigation from Cashmere to Tatta, and no doubt abounded with boats and vessels ready constructed to the conqueror's hands. I think it probable, too, that the vessels in which Nearchus performed his coasting voyage to the gulf of Persia, were found in the Indus. Vessels of one hundred and eighty tons' burden are sometimes used in the Ganges; and those of one hundred not unfrequently." It is worthy of observation, that this judicious conjecture of Mr. Rennell is justified by the words of Arrian. In speaking of the number of vessels, he says, *και δσα αλλα ποταμα, η των παλαι πλεοντων κατα τους ποταμους, η εν τη τοτε ποιηθεντων*, p. 124. The vessels employed by Alexander appear, therefore, to have been partly collected on the Indian rivers, and partly constructed for the occasion. They were, 1. Long ships for the purpose of war; 2. Round ships, for carrying provisions, baggage, &c; and, 3. *επιπαραγα πλοια*, vessels for transporting horses. Mr. Rennell's conjecture can only relate to the ships of burden. That the two other kinds were built by the Ionians and islanders, appears from Arrian, p. 124. and 181. The account of Alexander's embarkation, given in Arrian's expedition of Alexander, as well as in his Indian history, is inconsistent with the relation of Curtius, l. ix. c. 3. with that of Diodorus, l. xvii. p. 563. and that of Justin, l. xii. c. 9. The narrative of Arrian is, however, confirmed by Strabo, l. xv. p. 1023. That accurate geographer informs us, that the fleet was constructed near the cities which Alexander had built on each side the Hydaspes; and that the timber, chiefly pine, fir, and cedar, was brought from a wood near to Mount Emodus

embarked in person with the third division of his forces. His navigation employed several months, being frequently retarded by hostilities with the natives, particularly the warlike tribe of the Malli. These Barbarians were driven from the open country; their cities were successively besieged and taken; but, at the storm of their capital, a scene was transacted which betrayed temerity in Alexander, and which would have indicated madness in any other general.

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When their streets were filled with the enemy, the Malli took refuge in their citadel. This fortress was defended by a thick wall, which, being thrown around the declivity of a mountain, was extremely lofty without, but towards the inner circumference of an inconsiderable height. Alexander, provoked by the obstinacy of the Indians, commanded the scaling-ladders to be applied with all possible expedition. But this service being performed more tardily than usual, the King, in his anger, snatched a ladder from one who carried it, and having fastened it to the wall, mounted with rapidity in defiance of the enemy's weapons. The Macedonians, alarmed by the danger of their general, followed in such numbers, that the ladder broke as Alexander reached the summit; the same accident happened to other ladders which were hastily applied, and injudiciously crowded. For some moments, the King thus remained alone on the wall, conspicuous by the brightness of his arms, and the *extra-*

Extraor-
dinary ad-
venture in
besieging
the Malli-
an fortress.

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*gance*¹⁸ of his valour, exposed to thick volleys of hostile darts from the adjacent towers. His resolution, more than daring, was in his circumstances wise. At one bound he sprang into the place, and posting himself at the wall, slew the chief of the Malli, and three others, who ventured to assault him. Meanwhile Abreas, Leonnatus, and Peucestes, the Macedonians who next reached the summit, imitated the example of Alexander. Abreas was wounded and fell; his companions, regardless of their own safety, defended the King, whose breast had been pierced with an arrow. They were soon covered with wounds, and Alexander seemed ready to expire. By this time, the Macedonians had burst through the gates of the place. Their first concern was to carry off the King; the second to revenge his death, for they believed the wound to be mortal, as breath issued forth with his blood. Some report, that the weapon was extracted by Critodemus of Còs; others, that no surgeon being near, Perdiccas, of the life-guards, opened the wound with his sword, by his master's command. The great effusion of blood threatened his immediate dissolution; but a seasonable fainting fit, suspending the circulation, stopped the discharge of blood, and saved the life of Alexander. The affectionate admiration in which he was held by his troops, appeared in

¹⁸ Τῇ ἀσποφ τῆς τολμῆς; literally, "the absurdity of his valour," could our idiom admit such an expression; *ασποφ* properly signifies "what has no place in nature." It is commonly translated *absurd*, but may here mean *supernatural*.

their gloomy sadness during his danger, and their immoderate joy at his recovery.¹⁹

Having performed his intended voyage to the ocean, and provided necessaries for a long march, Alexander determined to proceed towards Persepolis, through the barren solitudes of Gedrosia. This arduous design was not inspired by an idle ambition to surpass the exploits of Cyrus and Semiramis, whose armies were said to have perished in those deserts, but prompted by the necessity of supplying with water, the first European fleet which navigated the Indian sea, explored the Persian gulph, and examined the mouths of the Euphrates and the Tigris. This important voyage was performed, and afterwards related, by Nearchus²⁰, whose enterprising genius was worthy of the master whom he served. In discovering the sea and the land, the fleet and army of Alexander mutually assisted each other. By the example of the King, both were

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Marches
through
the Gedro-
sian de-
sert.
Olymp.
cxiii. 4.
A. C. 325.

Voyage of
Nearchus.

¹⁹ The extraordinary adventure related in the text, is said by Curtius, l. ix. c. 4. to have happened in storming a city of the Oxydracæ. Lucian (Dial. mort.) & Pausan. (Attic.) agree with Curtius. But these are feeble authorities compared with Arrian, l. vi. p. 127. & seq. & Strabo, l. xvii. p. 1026.

²⁰ Nearchus was a native of Crete, but had long resided in Amphipolia. The journal of his celebrated voyage from the mouth of the Indus to that of the Euphrates, is preserved in Arrian's Indian history, from c. xx. to c. xli. inclusively. Five months were employed in this voyage, during three of which the fleet kept the sea. Nearchus sailed in the month of September, and arrived in April in the Euphrates, Arrian, Hist. Indic. c. 20. & seq. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. vi. c. 23. The relation of this illustrious admiral has been called in question by Dodwell, Hardouin, and Huet; but its authenticity is asserted by the best critics, and confirmed by all the best modern geographers.

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taught to despise toil and danger. On foot, and encumbered with his armour, he traversed the tempestuous sands of the Persian coast, sharing the hunger, thirst, and fatigue of the meanest soldier²¹; nor was it till after a march of two months, distinguished by unexampled hardships, that the army emerged into the cultivated province of Carmania.

Alexander
is joined in
Carmania
by various
divisions of
his army.

In this country Alexander was met by a division of his forces, which he had sent under the command of Craterus through the territories of the Arii and Drangæ. Stasanor and Phrathernes, governors of those warlike nations, and of the more northern provinces of Parthia and Hyrcania, brought a seasonable supply of camels and other beasts of burthen, to relieve the exigencies of an army enfeebled by disease and exhausted by fatigue. The waste of men, occasioned by this unhappy expedition²², was repaired by

²¹ Parties were continually employed, on all sides, in searching for water. On one occasion, they were more unfortunate than usual; the heat of the sun was excessive, and reflected by the scorching sand; Alexander marched on foot, parched with thirst, exhausted by fatigue, and oppressed by care. Amidst these distressful circumstances, some soldiers discovering a small quantity of turbid water brought it in great haste to the King. He received the present with thanks, then poured it on the ground; and the water, thus spilt, refreshed not only Alexander, but the whole army. Arrian, p. 141.

²² Plutarch says, that the march through Gedrosia cost Alexander near one hundred thousand men; a palpable exaggeration, since he supposes the whole army, at their departure from India, to have amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse; of which one division embarked with Nearchus, and another marched, under the command of Craterus, through the territories of the Arii and Drangæ; little more than a third part of the whole number entered the Gedrosian deserts.

arrival of numerous battalions from Media, rendered the standard of Alexander sufficiently respectable. Cleander and Sitalus, the commanders of those forces, were accused by the pretences of despoiling their temples, ransacking their tombs, and committing other detestable deeds of avarice and cruelty. Their own soldiers confirmed the accusation; and their crimes were punished with death. This prompt justice gave immediate satisfaction, and served as a salutary example in future; for, of all the rules of government, practised by this illustrious conqueror, none had a stronger tendency to confirm his authority, and consolidate his empire, than his vigilance to restrain the rapacity of his lieutenants, and to defend his subjects from oppression.²³

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He punishes the misconduct of his generals.

Among the fables which gave the air of romance to the memorable exploits of Alexander, we may reckon the triumphant procession through Carmania. In imitation of Bacchus, Alexander is said to have traversed this province, amidst dancing and music, crowned with flowers, intoxicated with wine, and indulging, with his followers, the utmost extravagance of disorder and folly.²⁴ The revel continued seven days, during which a small body of sober men might have overwhelmed this

Improbable account of the march through Carmania.

²³ Καὶ τοῦτο, εἴπερ τι ἄλλο, κατέσχευεν ἐν κόσμῳ τὰ ἐθνη τὰ ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου, δερμαλάτα, ἢ ἱκότα προσχωρήσαντα, τούτῳ μὲν πληθεῖ οὐτα, τούτῳ δὲ ἀλλήλων ἀφεστηκότα· οἱ οὐκ ἔβην ὑπὸ τῇ Ἀλεξάνδρου Βασιλείᾳ ἀδικεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀρχομένους ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων. Arrian, l. vi. p. 143. "This, especially, kept in awe the nations that were either subdued by Alexander, or that voluntarily submitted to him (numerous and remote as they were); that under the reign of this prince, the governors durst not injure the governed."

²⁴ Plut. in Alexand. Diodor. p. 573.

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army of bacchanals, and avenged the cause of Darius and of Asia.²⁵ Were not this improbable fiction discountenanced by the silence of contemporary writers²⁶, it would be refuted by its own absurdity. Instead of yielding to the transports of mad joy, Alexander, whose heart was extremely susceptible of compassion, must have been deeply afflicted by the recent loss of so many brave men; and the necessity of his affairs, to which he was ever duly attentive, admitted not of unseasonable delay.

Punishment of the governors of Babylon, Persepolis, and Susa.

Encouraged by the long absence of their master, and the perils to which his too adventurous character continually exposed his life, Harpalus, Orsines, and Abulites, who were respectively governors of Babylon, Persepolis, and Susa, began to despise his orders, and to act as independent princes, rather than accountable ministers. In such emergencies, Alexander knew by experience the advantage of celerity. He therefore divided his army. The greater part of the heavy-armed troops were entrusted to Hephæstion, with orders to proceed along the sea-coast, and to attend the motions of the fleet commanded by Nearchus. With the remainder, the King hastened to Pasargadæ. Orsines was convicted of many enormous crimes, which were punished with as enormous severity.²⁷ Baryaxes, a Mede, who had assumed

²⁵ Curtius, l. ix. c. 10.

²⁶ Arrian informs us, that neither Ptolemy nor Aristobulus make the least mention of this extraordinary transaction, which he treats with proper contempt. Vid. Arrian, p. 143.

²⁷ Arrian, who excuses Alexander's adopting the Persian manners, repeatedly blames him for imitating the Barbarian punishments.

the royal tiara, suffered death ; his numerous adherents shared his fate. The return of Alexander from the east proved fatal to Abulites, and his son Oxathres, who, during the absence of their master, had cruelly oppressed the wealthy province of Susiana, and particularly the inhabitants of the capital. Harpalus, whose conduct at Babylon had proved equally flagitious, escaped with his treasures to Athens ; the avarice of the Athenians engaged them to receive this wealthy fugitive ; but their fears forbade them to harbour the enemy of Alexander. By a decree of the people, he was expelled from Attica, and this traitor to the most generous of princes seems himself to have been soon afterwards treacherously slain.²⁸ The brave Peucestes, who had saved Alexander's life at the assault of the Mallian fortress, was promoted to the government of Persia. In this important command he shewed that the virtues of sound policy are not incompatible with the most adventurous valour. By conforming to the customs,

Peucestes
rewarded.

²⁸ Comp. Curtius, l. x. c. 2. Plut. in Demosthen. Diodor. l. xviii. p. 19. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 576. But all these writers omit the first crime of Harpalus, mentioned by Arrian, the pardon of which does great honour to the clemency of Alexander. Harpalus, even in the life-time of Philip, had gained the friendship of his illustrious son, who, soon after mounting the throne, employed him as his treasurer. But before the battle of Issus, this unworthy minister betrayed his trust, and fled to Megara. Alexander unwilling hastily to condemn an old friend, who had for his sake incurred the resentment of Philip, ascribed the misconduct of Harpalus to the bad counsels of Tauriscus, a daring villain, who had accompanied his flight. After the death of Tauriscus, he prevailed on Harpalus again to return to his service, and again entrusted him with the custody of his treasures. Arrian, l. iii. c. vi.

C H A P. adopting the manners, and using the language
XXXIX. of the vanquished, he acquired the affectionate
 respect of the people committed to his care. His
 pliant condescension, directed by sound policy,
 was highly approved by the discernment of Alex-
 ander; but his affectation of foreign manners
 greatly offended the pride of his Macedonian
 countrymen.

Alexander
 improves
 the inter-
 nal state of
 his con-
 quests.
 Olymp.
 cxiii. 4.
 A. C. 325.

In the central provinces of his empire, which from time immemorial had been the seat of Asiatic pomp and luxury, Alexander spent the last, and not the least glorious, year of his reign. In the nervous language of antiquity, the world was silent in his presence; and his only remaining care was to improve and consolidate his conquests. For these important purposes, he carefully examined the course of the Eulæus, the Tigris, and the Euphrates; and the indefatigable industry of his troops was judiciously employed in removing the weirs, or dams, by which the timid ignorance of the Persian Kings, and their jealousy of the mutinous Babylonians, had obstructed the navigation of those great rivers. But Alexander, having no reason to dread fleets of war, wished to invite those of commerce. The harbours were repaired; arsenals were constructed; a bason was formed at Babylon sufficient to contain a thousand galleys. By these and similar improvements, he expected to facilitate internal intercourse among his central provinces, while, by opening new channels of communication, he hoped to unite the wealthy countries of Egypt and the East, with the most remote regions of the earth. His ships were sent to explore the Persian and Arabian

gulphs. Archias brought him such accounts of the former, that he determined to plant its shores with Grecian colonies. Hieron of Soli proceeded farthest in examining the Arabian coast; but he found it impossible to double the southern extremity of that immense peninsula, and still more to remount (as he had been commanded by Alexander) to the city Hieropolis in Egypt. This daring enterprise seemed to be reserved for the King in person. It is certain, that shortly before his death, he took measures for examining this great southern gulph, as well as for discovering the shores of the Caspian Sea, which, though described as a vast lake by Herodotus, was by many believed to communicate with the Northern Ocean.²⁹

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Sends vessels to explore the Persian and Arabian gulphs.

But objects, less remote, demanded his more immediate attention. In the winter season, the waters of the Euphrates, which produce the extraordinary fertility of Assyria³⁰, are confined within their lofty channel. But in spring and summer, and especially towards the summer solstice, they overflow their banks, and, instead of watering, would totally deluge the adjacent territory, unless the superfluous moisture were discharged into the great canal of Pallacopas. This artificial river, formed, it is said, by Nebuchadnezzar, commences an hundred miles below Babylon. It is not fed by springs, nor replenished from mountain

Restrains the inundations of the Euphrates.

²⁹ Arrian, l. vii. p. 158.

³⁰ "This country," according to Strabo, "is more fertile than any other; producing, it is said, three hundred fold." Strabo, p. 1077.

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snows, but branching from the great trunk of the Euphrates, moderates its too impetuous stream, by diverting it into the sea, through lakes and marshes, by various, and for the most part invisible outlets. But this useful contrivance finally defeated its own purpose. The Pallacopas gradually sunk into its soft and oozy bed, and the Euphrates, which even originally was much higher than this canal, continued to flow into the new channel, even after the season when its waters cease to rise by the melting of the Armenian snows. The diminution of the river rendered it insufficient to water the fields of Assyria; an inconvenience severely felt in a country seldom refreshed by rain. The governors of Babylon attempted unsuccessfully to remedy the evil, whose magnitude justly excited the attention of Alexander. From war, the mother of arts, he had learned to improve the benefits of peace. While preparations were making for more distant expeditions, he sailed down the Euphrates; carefully examined the nature of the soil; and having discovered, at the distance of about four miles from the inosculation of the Euphrates and Pallacopas, a hard and rocky bottom, he commanded a canal to be cut there, which served to moderate the inundations at one season, without too much draining the waters at another. Having performed this essential service to Assyria, he followed the course of the Pallacopas, and surveyed the lakes and marshes, which guard the Arabian frontiers. In the neighbourhood of his new canal, he observed a convenient situation for a city, which, being

Builds a
city near
the canal
of Pallacopas.

built and fortified, was peopled with those super-annuated Greeks, who seemed no longer capable of military service, and with such others of their countrymen as thought proper to settle in this fertile, though remote, country.²¹

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Animated by a zeal for public happiness, Alexander thus traversed the populous provinces of the East, and successively visited the imperial cities of Persepolis, Susa, Ecbatana, and Babylon. These places, and others of inferior note, were adorned with signal marks of his taste, and respectively distinguished by transactions which discover the boldest, yet most enlightened, views of policy. The important design of uniting, by laws and manners, the subjects of his extensive monarchy, was ever present to his mind. For this purpose, he took care to incorporate in his Barbarian armies the Greeks and Macedonians. In each company, or rather in each division of sixteen, he joined four Europeans to twelve Asiatics. In the Macedonian squadrons and battalions, he intermixed, on the other hand, such of the Barbarians as were most distinguished by their strength, their activity, and their merit. Soon after the battle of Arbela, he had given orders to raise new levies in the conquered provinces. The Barbarian youth delighted in the Grecian exercise and discipline, and rejoiced at being associated to the glory of their victors. On the banks of the Tigris, Alexander was joined by a powerful body of those recruits, whose improvements in arts and arms fully answered his expectations, and justly rewarded his foresight.

Incorporates the Barbarian levies with the Greeks and Macedonians.

²¹ Arrian, ubi supra.

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The arrival of such numerous auxiliaries enabled him to discharge at Opis, a city on the Tigris, such Greeks and Macedonians as were tired of the service, worn out with age, or enfeebled by sickness. After an interesting scene, which we shall have occasion to describe, he dismissed those respectable veterans, loaded with wealth and honours. They were conducted by Craterus, whom he appointed to succeed Antipater in the administration of his European dominions; and Antipater, who had long administered that important trust with equal prudence and fidelity, was commanded to join his master with new levies from Greece, Thrace, and Macedon.³²

Pays the
debts of
his sol-
diers.

At Susa, Alexander learned that his soldiers, indulging the extravagance too natural to their profession, had contracted immense debts, which they had neither ability nor inclination to pay. Upon this intelligence, he issued orders that each man should give an exact account of what he owed, with the names of his creditors, declaring, that he was determined to satisfy them at his own expence. The troops suspected an intention merely to discover their characters, and to learn their œconomy or profusion. At first, therefore, many denied, and all diminished, their debts. But Alexander issued a second declaration, "That it became not a prince to deceive his people, nor a people to suppose their prince capable of deceit." Faithful lists were immediately presented, and the whole debts discharged, to the amount, it is said, of four millions sterling.

³² Arrian, *ubi supra*.

This event was accompanied by a transaction of a different kind, which discovers, however, the same spirit, and which equally endeared Alexander to his Asiatic subjects. In the royal palace of Susa, he publicly espoused Statira³³, the daughter of Darius; and bestowed her sister Drypetis on his friend Hephæstion, saying, that he wished their children to be kinsmen. By the advice of their master, Perdiccas, Seleucus, Ptolemy, and other generals, intermarried with the most illustrious of the vanquished Barbarians. The soldiers were encouraged by presents, and by the hope of royal favour, to follow the example of their leaders; and it appeared from the catalogue of their names presented to the King, that above ten thousand Greeks and Macedonians married Asiatic women.³⁴

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Intermarriages of the Europeans and Asiatics.

In all the cities which he visited, he was careful to celebrate the musical and gymnastic games; those distinguishing fruits of Grecian culture, which being adapted to gratify the senses, as well as to please the fancy, were beheld with delight even by the most ignorant Barbarians. Con-

Alexander prepares to exhibit dramatic entertainments at Ecbatana. Olymp. cxiv. 1.

³³ Curtius, Justin, and Plutarch.

³⁴ Plutarch, seizing the true spirit of these regulations, exclaims, *ὦ θαρσάει Ξέρξης, καὶ ἀνοήτῃ, καὶ ματῇ πολλὰ περὶ τὴν Ἑλλησποντίαν πονηθεὶς γεφυρὰν, οὕτως ἐμφρονεῖς βασιλεὺς Ἀσίαν Ἑυρώπῃ συνάπτουσι, οὐ ξύλοις, οὐδὲ σχεδίαις, οὐδὲ ἀψυχοῖς καὶ ἀσυμπαθεσὶ δεσμοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐρατῇ νομίμῃ, καὶ γάμοις σωφροσὶ, καὶ κοινωναίᾳ παῖδας τὰ γένη συνάπτουτες.* "O! barbarous and foolish Xerxes, thou who labouredst in vain to throw a bridge over the Hellespont, it is thus that wise kings join Asia to Europe, not by boards, ships, lifeless and insensible bonds, but by lawful love, chaste nuptials, and the indissoluble tie of common progeny." Plut. *Orat. i. de Fortun. Alexand.* See likewise above, vol. i. c. ix. p. 430.

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Alexander
reduces
and chas-
tises the
Cossæans.

To moderate and divert his sorrow, Alexander, who in the practice of war found at once business and amusement, undertook an expedition in person, which perhaps would otherwise have been committed to the valour of his lieutenants. The Cossæans, a rude and untractable nation, inhabited the southern frontier of Media. Secure amidst their rocks and fastnesses, they had ever defied the arms of the Persians ; and the degenerate successors of Cyrus had judged it more prudent to purchase their friendship than to repel their hostility. In their annual journey from Babylon to Ecbatana, the pride of these magnificent but pusillanimous princes condescended to bestow presents on the Cossæans, that they might procure an undisturbed passage for themselves and their train ; and this impolitic meanness only increased the audacity of fierce mountaineers, who often ravaged the Susian plains, and often retired to their fastnesses, loaded with the richest spoils of Media. Alexander was not of a temper patiently to endure the repetition of such indignities. In forty days, he attacked, defeated, and totally subdued this rapacious and warlike tribe. The Cossæans were driven from their last retreats, and compelled to surrender their territory. After obtaining sufficient pledges of their fidelity, the conqueror allowed them to ransom their prisoners ; and, at his departure from their country, took care to erect such fortresses as seemed necessary for bridling, in future, the dangerous fury of this headstrong people. *

* Such is the account of the expedition given by Arrian, l. vii.

In returning from this successful expedition towards the banks of the Euphrates, Alexander was met by ambassadors from Carthage, Spain, and Italy, as well as from many inland countries of Asia and Africa, extending from Mount Imaus to the southern extremity of Æthiopia. It was then, says his historian, that he appeared master of the world, both to his followers and to himself; and, as if the known parts of it had been insufficient to satisfy his ambition, he gave orders to cut timber in the Hyrcanian forest, with a design to build ships, and explore the undiscovered shores of the Caspian and Arabian seas. But neither these lofty designs, nor the glory of war, nor the pomp of royalty, which, of all princes Alexander enjoyed in the greatest "splendour,

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Glory of
Alexander.

His melancholy.

p. 157. and confirmed by Strabo, l. xi. p. 795. and by Diodorus, l. xvii. p. 577. Plutarch, on the other hand, most unwarrantably and absurdly tells us, that Alexander, to divert his grief, took the amusement of *man hunting*, and massacred the whole Cossæan nation, without distinction of age or sex. Plut. p. 94.

^a Vid. Athen. l. x. p. 436. & l. xii. p. 537—541. We may believe that Alexander's tent contained an hundred couches; that the pillars which supported it were encrusted with gold: that he gave audience, surrounded with guards, and seated on a golden throne. In the language of antiquity, "the master of both continents" found it necessary to unite the pomp of the East with the arts of Greece. But when Athenæus tells us of the precious essences, the fragrant wines, the effeminacy, and vices, of Alexander, we discover the credulous, or rather criminal sophist, who has collected into one work all the vices and impurities which disgraced his country and human nature. To the unwarranted assertions of the obscure writers cited by an Ælian (l. ix. c. iii.) and an Athenæus, we can oppose the authority of an Arrian and a Plutarch.—Could he who so severely censured the effeminate and luxurious lives of others, be himself effeminate and luxurious? "Of all men," says Arrian, "Alexander was the most economical in what regarded his private pleasures." Arrian, l. vii. p. 167. Even in the use of wine he was habitually sparing. Id. l. vii. sub fin.

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could appease his grief for the loss of Hephestion. The death of his beloved friend is said, by Arrian, to have hastened his own. It certainly tinged his character with a deep melancholy, which rendered him susceptible of such impressions as the firmness of his manly soul would otherwise have resisted and repelled.

Artifice
to prevent
his return
to Baby-
lon.

He, who had so often employed superstition as an instrument of policy, began himself to feel the power of that miserable passion. The servants of princes, ever quick in discerning, and dexterous in turning to their own profit, the foibles of their masters, soon discovered and abused the weakness of Alexander. Alarmed at the severe treatment of several of his colleagues, Apollodorus, a citizen of Amphipolis, who had been entrusted with the government of Babylon, practised with his brother Pythagoras, a diviner; and the latter, ambitious to promote the greatness of his family, pretended to perceive in the victims evident marks of divine displeasure against the king, should he enter the gates of Babylon. Notwithstanding this menace, Alexander, after reducing the Cossæans, approached towards that city with his army. He was met by a long train of Chaldean priests; who conjured him to change his resolution, because they had received an oracle from Belus, declaring that his journey thither would prove fatal. The interests of the Chaldeans conspired with the views of Apollodorus. The temple of Belus, a stupendous edifice, situate in the heart of Babylon, had been very richly endowed by the Assyrian kings. But the produce

of the consecrated ground, instead of being applied to its original destination of repairing the temple, and offering sacrifices to the gods, had, ever since the impious reign of Xerxes, been appropriated by the Chaldæan priests. Alexander, it was well known, intended to reform this abuse; and, although his mind was not altogether unmoved by the admonition of the priests, he discerned their interested motives, and answered them by a verse of Euripides, "He's the best prophet that conjectures best." Foiled in their first attempt, the Chaldæans had recourse to another artifice. Since the king had determined at every hazard to visit Babylon, they entreated him at least not to enter it on the eastern side, but to fetch a compass round, and to march with his face towards the rising sun. He prepared to comply with this advice; but the marshiness of the soil rendered his design impracticable; and he was thus reluctantly compelled to enter the city by the forbidden road.

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During his short stay at Babylon, his mind was disturbed by superstitious fears⁴², awakened by the intrigues of Apollodorus, or the artifices of the Chaldæans, and confirmed by a circumstance well fitted to operate on a disordered fancy. In his Indian expedition, he had conversed with the Gymnosophists, Brachmans, men who *practised* the philosophy which Plato *taught*, and whose contempt for the pomp and pleasures of the present life, was founded on the firm belief of a better and more permanent

His short stay in this city disturbed by superstitious fears.

Tenets of the Indian Brachmans.

⁴² He became, says Plutarch, δυσίππτος πρὸς το δεινόν.

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Prophecy
and death
of Calanus.

state of existence. To those sages, the fortunate ambition of Alexander appeared an object of derision or pity. At sight of the conqueror, they stamped their feet with vehemence on the ground; indicating, by an expressive action, more eloquent than words, that he, whose name now filled the world, must soon be confined within the narrow grave. The flatterers of the king rebuked them for insulting the son of Jupiter, who had the power to reward or punish them. They replied, by saying, "That all were the sons of Jupiter; that the rewards of Alexander they disdained, and set at defiance his punishments, which at last could only relieve them from the load of frail mortality." Yet Calanus, one of their number, allured by curiosity, or irresistibly captivated by the soothing condescension of the king, agreed to accompany him; for which inconstancy he was much blamed by his brethren. Alexander treated this eastern sage with great respect, and when Calanus, who had passed his seventy-second year without experiencing any bodily infirmity, fell sick in Persia, the affectionate prince earnestly entreated him not to anticipate fate by a voluntary death. But finding him inflexibly bent on this purpose, he allowed a pyre to be constructed, to which the Indian (being too feeble to walk or ride on horseback) was conveyed in a litter. In sight of the Macedonian army, who had been ordered to assist at this awful solemnity, Calanus composed himself decently on the pyre; the music struck up; the soldiers raised a shout of war; and the Indian, with a serene countenance, expired amidst the

flames, singing a hymn to the gods of his country.⁴³ CHAP.
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The curiosity of Alexander was unbounded; but his humanity likewise was great. This principle, which is too often a stranger to the breast of conquerors, made him decline witnessing the extraordinary death of a friend, who, for his sake, had abandoned his native land. But, before Calanus was carried to the funeral pile, the king affectionately paid him the last visit. Calanus having embraced all present, refused to take leave of Alexander, saying that "he should again see him in Babylon." The words of a dying man were considered by the Greeks as prophetic. Those of Calanus sunk deep into the mind of Alexander; and the painful impression which they had made hastened his departure from a city, in which so many concurring circumstances forbade him to reside.⁴⁴

His superstitious terrors, however, seem to have been diverted by the voyage down the Euphrates, and by directing the improvements in the canal of Pallacopas. Having resumed his courage, he ventured to return to Babylon, gave audience to some Grecian ambassadors, who presented him with golden crowns from the submissive flattery of their several republics; and having reviewed his troops and gallies, prepared to execute the enterprises which he had so long meditated. But his designs and his life were now drawing to a close. Whether to conquer this melancholy, or to triumph in the victory which he had already

Death of
Alexander
at Baby-
lon.
Olymp.
cxiv. 1.
A. C. 324.
May 28th.

⁴³ Arrian, l. vii. c. 3.

⁴⁴ Ibid. c. 18.

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gained over it, he indulged, without moderation, in that banqueting and festivity to which, after the fatigues of war, he had often shown himself too much addicted; and a fever, occasioned, or at least increased, by an excessive abuse of wine, the vice of his nation and of his family, put a period to his life in the thirty-third year of his age, and in the thirteenth of his reign. After the first days of the disorder, he had been conveyed to the cool verdure of a beautiful garden; but the malady increasing, he was soon brought back to the palace. The last remains of strength he spent in assistance at daily sacrifices to the gods. During his illness he spoke but little, and that only concerning his intended expeditions. The temples were crowded by his friends; the generals waited in the hall; the soldiers surrounded the gates. Such was the grief of many, and the respectful admiration of all, that none ventured to announce to him his approaching dissolution, none ventured to demand his last orders. When all hopes of recovery had vanished, his favourite troops were admitted to behold him. He was speechless, but had still strength to stretch forth his hand.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Arrian says, that many reports were spread concerning the death of Alexander, such as, that he had been poisoned by the emissaries of Antipater, whom, as mentioned above in the text, he had recently deprived of the government of Greece and Macedon; that when asked to whom he bequeathed the empire, he had answered, to the "strongest;" and that he had foretold his obsequies would be celebrated by bloody wars among his lieutenants. But these rumours receive not the least countenance from the royal diary, which seems to have been carefully copied by Arrian, nor from the histories of Ptolemy and Aristobulus.

Such was the reign of Alexander, whose character, being unexampled and inimitable, can only be fitly drawn by relating his actions. He was of a low stature, and somewhat deformed; but the activity and elevation of his mind animated and ennobled his frame. By a life of continual labour, and by an early and habitual practice of the gymnastic exercises, he had hardened his body against the impressions of cold and heat, hunger and thirst ⁴⁴, and prepared his robust constitution for bearing such exertions of strength and activity, as have appeared incredible to the undisciplined softness of modern times. In generosity and in prowess, he rivalled the greatest heroes of antiquity; and in the race of glory, having finally outstripped all competitors, became ambitious to surpass himself. His superior skill in war gave uninterrupted success to his arms; and his natural humanity, enlightened by the philosophy of Greece, taught him to improve his conquests to the best interests of ⁴⁵ mankind.

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His character.

⁴⁴ Plut. Orat. i. & ii. de Fortun. Alexand.

⁴⁵ Plutarch says, the nations conquered by Alexander might adopt the language of Themistocles, when, in consequence of his banishment from Greece, he was raised to great wealth and honour in Asia. "Ο παῖδες ἀπώλομεθα, αἱ μὴ ἀπώλομεθα." "O my children! we should have been undone, had we not been undone." In the same manner, those nations, had they not been vanquished by Alexander, had not been civilized, Egypt would not boast her Alexandria; Mesopotamia, her Seleucia, &c. And again, "Alexander taught marriage to the Hyrcanians, and agriculture to the Arochosii. He taught the Sogdians to maintain, and not to kill, their parents; the Persians to respect, and not to marry, their mothers; the Scythians to bury, and not to eat, their dead." Plut. ibid.

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In his extensive dominions, he built, or founded, not less than seventy cities ⁴⁶, the situation of which being chosen with consummate wisdom, tended to facilitate communication, to promote commerce, and to diffuse civility through the greatest nations of the earth. ⁴⁷ It may be suspected, indeed, that he mistook the extent of human power, when, in the course of one reign, he hoped to change the face of the world ; and that he miscalculated the stubbornness of ignorance, and the force of habit, when he attempted to enlighten barbarism, to soften servitude, and to transplant the improvements of Greece into an African and Asiatic soil, where they have never been known to flourish. Yet, let not the designs of Alexander be too hastily accused of extravagance. Whoever seriously considers what he actually performed before his thirty-third year, will be cautious of determining what he might have accomplished, had he reached the ordinary term of human life. His resources were peculiar to himself ; and such views, as well as actions, became him, as would have become none besides. In the language of a philosophical historian, “ he seems to have been given to the world by a peculiar dispensation of Providence, being a man like to none other of the human kind.” ⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Vid. Plut. de Fortun. Alexand. tom. ii. p. 327. In the language of Plutarch, he *sowed Asia* with Greek cities.

⁴⁷ Plut. *ibid.* Diodor. Sicul. xvii. 83. Stephen. Byzant. in voc. Αλεξανδρεια.

⁴⁸ Ουδέ μοι εἰς θεῶν φυναι αὐ δοκεῖ αὐτῷ, οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ ἀνθρώπῳ εὐκως. Arrian, p. 168. How far he was an instrument in the hands of

From the part which his father Philip and himself acted in the affairs of Greece, his history has been transmitted through the impure channels of exaggerated flattery or malignant envy. The innumerable fictions, which disgrace the works of his biographers, are contradicted by the most authentic account of his reign, and inconsistent with those public transactions, which concurring authorities confirm. In the present work, it seemed unnecessary to expatiate on such topics, since it is less the business of history to repeat, or even to expose errors, than to select and impress useful truths. An author, ambitious of attaining that purpose, can seldom indulge the language of general panegyric. He will acknowledge that Alexander's actions were not always blameless ; but, after the most careful examination, he will affirm, that his faults were few in number, and resulted from his situation, rather than from his character.

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The faults
or crimes
of which
he is ac-
cused,

resulted
from his
situation
rather than
from his
character.

From the first year of his reign, he experienced the crimes of disaffection and treachery, which multiplied, and became more dangerous, with the extent of his dominions, and the difficulty to govern them. Several of his lieutenants early aspired at independence ; others formed conspiracies against the life of their master. The first criminals were treated, as we have already seen, with a lenity becoming the generous spirit of

Divine Providence, belongs not to the subject of profane history to enquire. On this subject, the reader may see Bishop Lowth on Isaiah, xix. 18., and xxiv. 14.

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Olymp.
cxii. 4.
A. C. 329.

Alexander. But when Philotas, the son of Parmenio, and even Parmenio⁴⁹ himself, afforded reason to suspect their fidelity; when the Macedonian youths, who, according to the institution of Philip, guarded the royal pavilion, prepared to murder their sovereign⁵⁰, he

⁴⁹ Philotas was punished in the country of the Arii; Parmenio was put to death in Media. Curtius (l. vi. c. 7. et seq.), who has given the fullest account of these executions, says, that Philotas deserved not the compassion of his friends: "*Amicorum misericordiam non meruit.*" He leaves it uncertain whether Parmenio fell a sacrifice to his own treason, or to the policy of Alexander. Arrian thinks, that the death of Parmenio was necessary to his master's safety. — Although the evidence of this general's guilt has not been handed down to posterity, Alexander, it is certain, believed him guilty. He who disdained to conquer his enemies by deceit, cannot, without proof, be supposed capable of treacherously assassinating his friends.

⁵⁰ This conspiracy is related by Arrian, l. ix. c. 13. and 14. The scene was Bactra, or Zariaspa, the capital of Bactria. At a hunting-match, the King, being ready to kill a boar, was anticipated by Hermolaus. To punish the insolence of the youth, Alexander ordered him to be whipped. The disgrace seemed intolerable to Hermolaus and his companions; a conspiracy was formed to destroy Alexander in his sleep. It was discovered by Ptolemy, the son of Lagus. The youths confessed their guilt, and declared that they had been confirmed in their purpose by Calisthenes, the scholar of Aristotle, an arrogant and morose man, who, sheltered by the cloak of philosophy, insolently brow-beat the prince, whom he was bound to respect. (Arrian, p. 871.) The conspirators were stoned to death; a punishment common in that age, when persons accused were tried before numerous assemblies, whose indignation frequently burst forth, and destroyed atrocious offenders on the spot, with the first instruments of death that chance offered to their hands. Calisthenes was dragged round the army in chains. Such is the best authenticated account of this affair, concerning which the variations of ancient writers are innumerable. Vid. Arrian, l. iv. c. 14. Curtius, l. viii. c. 8. Seneca Suasor, i. Justin, l. xv. c. 3. Philostratus, l. viii. c. 1. Diodor. Sicul. pp. 356. & 358. Diogen. Laert. in Aristot. Suidas, ad voc. As an example of the injustice done

found it necessary to depart from his lenient system, and to hold with a firmer hand the reins of government. Elated by unexampled prosperity, and the submissive reverence of vanquished nations, his loftiness disgusted the pride of his European troops, particularly the Macedonian nobles, who had been accustomed to regard themselves rather as his companions than subjects. The pretensions which sound policy taught him to form and to maintain, of being treated with those external honours ever claimed by the monarchs of the East, highly offended the religious prejudices of the Greeks, who deemed it impious to prostrate the body, or bend the knee, to any mortal sovereign. Yet had he remitted formalities consecrated by the practice of ages, he must insensibly have lost the respect of his Asiatic subjects. With a view to reconcile

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the character of Alexander, I shall insert the passage of Seneca; "Hoc est Alexandri crimen æternum, quod nulla virtus, nulla bellorum felicitas redimet. Nam quoties quis dixerit, Occidit Persarum multa millia; opponitur, et Callisthenem. Quoties dictum erit, omnia oceano tenuis vicit, ipsam quoque tentavit novis classibus, et imperium ex angulo Thraciæ usque ad orientis terminos protulit; dicetur, sed Callisthenem occidit." Yet this Callisthenes was a traitor, whose writings are mentioned with contempt by Arrian, loc. citat. Polybius, t. ii. pp. 64. 335. & t. iii. p. 45. Cicero ad Quint. Frat. l. ii. epist. xiii. & Longinus, c. iii. p. 14. The patriotism of the Greeks and the envy of the Romans, could never forgive the transcendent glory of Alexander, which eclipsed their own. In speaking of Philip and his son, even Cicero (de Offic.) says, "Alter semper magnus, alter sæpe turpissimus." See likewise Livy, l. ix. c. 18. The last mentioned writer (l. ix. c. 17.) goes out of his way to allege very inconclusive arguments for believing, that had Alexander turned his arms against Italy, he would certainly have been conquered by the Romans.

C H A P. the discordant principles of the victors and van-
XXXIX quished, he affected an immediate descent from
 Jupiter Ammon, a claim liberally admitted by the
 avarice or fears of the Libyan priests, and which,
 he had reason to expect, could not be very ob-
 stinately denied by the credulity of the Greeks
 and Macedonians, who universally acknowledged
 that Philip, his reputed father, was remotely de-
 scended from the Grecian Jupiter. But the suc-
 cess of this design, which might have entitled
 him, as son of Jupiter, to the same obeisance
 from the Greeks, which the Barbarians readily
 paid him as monarch of the East, was counter-
 acted, at first by the secret displeasure, and after-
 wards by the open indignation, of several of his
 generals and courtiers. Nor did the conduct of
 Alexander tend to extricate him from this diffi-
 culty. With his friends, he maintained that
 equal intercourse of visits and entertainments,
 which characterised the Macedonian manners;
 indulged the liberal flow of unguarded conversa-
 tion; and often exceeded that intemperance in
 wine, which disgraced his age and country.

Murder of
 Clitus.
 Olymp.
 cxliii. 1.
 A.C. 328.

On such occasions his guests, or entertainers,
 enjoyed and abused the indecent familiarity to
 which they had been accustomed with their
 Kings; but which the temper of Alexander, cor-
 rupted by prosperity and flattery, was no longer
 able to tolerate. A scene of drunken debauchery,
 which must appear highly disgusting to the pro-
 priety of modern manners, proved fatal to Clitus,
 who, emboldened by wine, daringly insulted his
 prince, vilified his noblest actions, and derided his

pretensions to divinity. The King, being likewise intoxicated, was no longer master of himself, when Clitus, who had been once carried from his presence, returned a second time to the charge, and behaved more insolently than before. In an unhappy moment, Alexander thrust a spear into the breast of his friend⁵¹; but instantly repenting his fury, would have destroyed himself by the same weapon, had he not been prevented by his attendants. The bitterness of his repentance, and the pungency of his remorse, which neither flattery could soften, nor sophistry appease⁵², rendered his life burdensome, and his actions inconsistent. At times, he assumed the Persian dress and ornaments; displayed the pomp of Oriental despotism; employed, and often preferred, the Barbarians; and, in several passages of his reign, this successful, but unhappy, conqueror appears to have been beset with flatterers, surrounded by conspirators, adored by the passive submission of his eastern subjects, and in-

⁵¹ Montesquieu, who (Voltaire only excepted) is the most distinguished modern apologist of Alexander, says, "Il fit deux mauvaises actions: il brula Persepolis et tua Clitus," (*Esprit des Loix*, l. x. c. 16.) The story of the burning of Persepolis we have already refuted. The death of Clitus, Aristobulus, cited by Arrian, ascribes entirely to the insolence and folly of Clitus himself, and totally exculpates Alexander. But Arrian observes, like a philosopher, that Alexander was justly blamable in allowing himself to be overcome by drunkenness and anger. Arrian, p. 84.

⁵² Agis, an Argive poet, and Anaxarchus the Sophist, endeavoured to cure his melancholy. The latter told him, that Justice was described by the ancients as seated near the throne of Jupiter, to indicate that right and wrong depended on the will of kings, all whose actions ought to be held just by themselves and others. This flagitious servility Arrian spurns with indignation, and brands with infamy. Arrian, p. 84.

C H A P. sulted by the licentious petulance of the Greeks
 XXXIX. and Macedonians.

Difficulties
 of Alexan-
 der's situ-
 ation, and
 the mag-
 nanimity
 by which
 he over-
 came
 them.

The indignation or jealousy of the latter tinged the fairest of his actions with dark and odious colours. About a year before his death, a scene was transacted at Opis on the Tigris, which shews the difficulties of his situation, and the magnanimity by which he overcame them. Having assembled the Macedonian troops he declared to them his pleasure, that such as felt themselves unable, through age or infirmities, to undergo the fatigues of war, should be honourably discharged from the service, and safely conducted to their respective provinces. This proposal, which ought to have been accepted with gratitude, was heard with anger. The soldiers reflected, that the army had recently increased by an accession of thirty thousand Barbarians, armed and accoutred after the European fashion, trained to the Grecian discipline and exercises, and instructed in the arts and language of the victors. The King, they thought, no longer cared for the service of his veterans, and therefore dismissed them with contempt. The spirit of sedition seized the camp; the Macedonians unanimously demanded their discharge; some adding with scoffs, "That he had no farther use for *them*; his father Ammon could fight his battles." At these words, the King sprung from the tribunal on which he sat, and commanded the most audacious to be seized by his targeteers, and conducted to immediate execution. This prompt severity appeased the rising

tumult. The soldiers remained motionless and silent, doubtful or terrified. Alexander again mounted the tribunal, and spoke as follows: "It is not my wish, Macedonians, to change your resolution. Return home, without hindrance from me. But, before leaving the camp, first learn to know your King and yourselves. My father Philip (for with him it is ever fit to begin) found you, at his arrival in Macedon, miserable and hopeless fugitives; covered with skins of sheep; feeding among the mountains some wretched herds which you had neither strength nor courage to defend against the Thracians, Illyrians, and Triballi. Having repelled the ravagers of your country, he brought you from the mountains to the plain, and taught you to confide, not in your fastnesses, but in your valour. By his wisdom and discipline, he trained you to arts and civility, enriched you with mines of gold, instructed you in navigation and commerce, and rendered you a terror to those nations, at whose names you used to tremble. Need I mention his conquests in Upper Thrace, or those still more valuable in the maritime provinces of that country? Having opened the gates of Greece, he chastised the Phocians, reduced the Thessalians, and, while I shared the command, defeated and humbled the Athenians and Thebans, eternal foes to Macedon, to whom you had been successively tributaries, subjects, and slaves. But my father rendered you their masters; and having entered the Peloponnesus, and regulated at discretion the affairs of that

C H A P.
XXXIX.His own
account of
the reign
of Philip
and him-
self.

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peninsula, he was appointed, by universal consent, general of combined Greece; an appointment not more honourable to himself than glorious for his country. At my accession to the throne, I found a debt of five hundred talents, and scarcely sixty in the treasury. I contracted a fresh debt of eight hundred; and conducting you from Macedon, whose boundaries seemed unworthy to confine you, safely crossed the Hellespont, though the Persians then commanded the sea. By one victory, we gained Ionia, Æolia, both Phrygias, and Lydia. By our courage and activity, the provinces of Cilicia and Syria, the strength of Palestine, the antiquity of Egypt, and the renown of Persia were added to your empire. Yours, now, are Bactra and Aria, the productions of India, the fertility of Assyria, the wealth of Susa, and the wonders of Babylon. You are generals, princes, satraps. What have I reserved for myself, but this purple and diadem, which mark my pre-eminence in toil and danger! Where are my private treasures?⁸³ Or why should I collect them? Are *my* pleasures expensive? You know that I fare worse than any of yourselves; and have in nothing spared my person. Let him, who dares, compare with me. Let him bare his breast, and I will bare mine. My body, the fore part of my body, is covered with honourable wounds from every sort of weapon. I often watch,

⁸³ It appears from Arrian, that Alexander speaks of these, as distinct from the military fund, and other revenues, employed in paying and rewarding his troops, and in executing such public designs as seemed conducive to the prosperity of the empire.

that you may repose safely; and, to testify my unremitting attention to your happiness, had determined to send home the aged and infirm among you, loaded with wealth and honour. But since you are all desirous to leave me, Go! Report to your countrymen, that, unmindful of the signal bounty of your King, you entrusted him to the vanquished Barbarians. The report, doubtless, will bespeak your gratitude and piety.”⁵⁴

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Having thus said, he sprang from the tribunal, and hastened to the palace, accompanied only by his guards. During two days, none were admitted to his presence. On the third, he called the Persian nobles of distinction, and distributed among them the principal departments of military command. He then issued orders, that certain bodies of the Barbarian infantry and cavalry should be called the royal battalion, and royal cohort, and by such other names as commanded greatest respect. Apprised of these innovations, the Macedonians, who had long remained in confusion before the tribunal, afraid to follow Alexander, and afraid to allow his retiring unattended, flocked around the palace, and deposited their arms at the gate, humbly requesting to see their King, and declaring that they would never stir from the place, till their tears had moved his compassion. Alexander came forth, beheld their abasement, and wept. The affecting silence, marked by alternate emotions of repentance and reconciliation, was at length broke by Callines, a man highly esteemed

Affecting
scene at
Opis on
the Tigris.
Olymp.
cxiii. 4.
A. C. 325.

⁵⁴ Arrian, p. 152. & seq.

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XXXIX.

in the cavalry: "Thy Macedonians, O King! are grieved that the Persians alone should be called thy kindred, and entitled as such to embrace thee, while none of themselves are allowed to taste that honour."⁵⁵ Alexander replied, "From this moment you are all my kindred." Callines then stepped forward and embraced him; and several others having followed the example, they all took up their arms, and returned to the camp with shouts of joy, and songs.

A festival celebrated in common by the Macedonians and Persians.

Of all men (if we believe the concurring testimony of his historians) Alexander was the most mindful of his duty to the gods. To thank Heaven for the happy issue of this transaction, he celebrated a solemn sacrifice, and, after the sacrifice, an entertainment for the principal of his European and Asiatic subjects. The Macedonians were next to his person; the Persians next the Macedonians; the Grecian priests and Persian magi joined in common libations, invoking perpetual concord, and eternal union of empire, to the Macedonians and Persians. Soon afterwards, the invalids, whose dismissal had produced the mutiny, gladly returned home. Alexander discharged their arrears, allowed them full pay until their arrival in Macedon, and granted each soldier a gratuity of two hundred pounds sterling. He again shed tears at parting with upwards of ten thousand men, who had served him in so many glorious campaigns; and as a testimony of his affectionate concern for their safety,

⁵⁵ Arrian says, "while none of themselves ever tasted that honour." *Μακεδόνων οὐκ τις γεγενηται ταύτης τῆς τιμῆς.* Arrian, p. 154.

appointed Craterus, whom he loved as his own soul ⁵⁶, to be their conductor.

C H A P.
XXXIX.

Division of
Alexander's con-
quests.

Such was the life of this extraordinary man, whose genius might have changed and improved the state of the ancient world. But the spirit of improvement is transient, and demands perpetual efforts; the sources of degeneracy are permanent and innumerable. It seems at first sight to be regretted, that by neglecting to provide for the succession to his throne, he left the field open for those bloody wars among his captains, which long desolated the earth. Yet the difficulties, with which he was himself obliged to struggle, might teach him the impossibility of securing the empire for the infancy of his son Hercules, or the weakness of his brother Arridhæus. The principles of royal succession were never accurately ascertained in Macedon; and the camp of a conqueror could not be expected to prove a good school of moderation or justice. The first measure adopted by his generals was, to set aside the natural claim of Hercules, born of the daughter of Darius, and to appoint Arridhæus, together with the fruit of Roxana's pregnancy, if she brought forth a son, to be joint heirs of the monarchy. This whimsical destination announced little union or stability. Perdiccas, in virtue of possessing the ring or seal of his deceased master, assumed the regency: the troops and provinces were divided among Antigonus, Ptolemy, Craterus, and other chiefs, who, having been formerly the equals, disdained to remain the inferiors, of

⁵⁶ Arrian, p. 155.

C H A P. Perdiccas. Each general trusted in his sword for
XXXIX. an independent establishment; new troops were
 raised and disciplined; leagues formed and
 broken; the children and relations of Alexander,
 who became successively prisoners in different
 hands, all perished miserably; nor was there any
 cessation of crimes and calamities⁵⁷, or any per-
 manent settlement of the provinces, until the
A.C. 301. battle of Ipsus in Phrygia confirmed Ptolemy
 in the possession of Egypt, and Seleucus in that
 of Upper Asia.⁵⁸ The issue of the same battle
 gave Macedon and Greece to Cassander, and
 Thrace, with several provinces of Lower Asia,
 to Lysimachus.

Subse-
 quent his-
 tory of
 Egypt and
 Syria.

The great kingdoms of Syria and Egypt, which
 continued thenceforward, till subdued by the Ro-
 mans, to be governed by the respective families of
 Seleucus and Ptolemy, never generally⁵⁹ adopted
 the language or manners of their Grecian sove-

⁵⁷ Diodor. Sicul. xix. & xx. passim.

⁵⁸ Arrian, pp. 160. & 164.

⁵⁹ Yet among the higher ranks of men, the Greek language con-
 tinually gained ground. Before the Christian æra, it was spoken by
 Jews, Romans, and Africans. It was the language of the learned
 and polite in Egypt and Syria, as well as in Italy and Carthage. It
 must have been understood by all ranks of men in Judæa, since the
 inspired writers employed it in propagating the Gospel, which was to
 be first preached to the Jews. For this universality, the Greek
 seems to have been indebted, 1. To the innumerable Greek colonies
 in Europe, Asia, and Africa. 2. To the conquests of Alexander,
 whose armies and garrisons were continually reinforced from Greece.
 3. To the social and agreeable character of the Greeks. 4. To the
 excellence of the language itself (see above, chapters v. and vi.),
 whose duration is as wonderful as its extent. The Greek was
 spoken in the middle of the fifteenth century, when Constantinople
 was taken by the Turks; so that, from the time of Homer, it sub-
 sisted with little variation, as a living tongue, for two thousand and
 four hundred years.

reigns. In Egypt, the first successors of Alexander carried into execution the commercial improvements planned by that prince; and the kings both of Egypt and of Syria affected, in their magnificent courts, to join the arts and elegance of Greece to the pomp and luxury of the East. But their ostentation is far more prominent than their taste; their liberal characters were effaced by the continual contact of servitude; they sunk into the softness and insignificance of hereditary despots, whose reigns are neither busy nor instructive; nor could the intrigues of women and eunuchs, or ministers equally effeminate, form in themselves a subject sufficiently interesting to succeed the memorable transactions of the Grecian republics.

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In the history of those kingdoms, the most important event is their conquest by the Romans, who gradually seized all the western spoils of the empire of Alexander, comprehended between the Euphrates and the Hadriatic sea, and successively reduced them into the form of provinces. Greece, which came to be distinguished by the name of Achaia, imparted its literature, its arts⁶⁶, and its vices, to Italy. The conquest of Macedonia freed Rome from the weight of taxes. The

The western division of Alexander's empire conquered by the Romans.

⁶⁶ Notwithstanding the degeneracy of the Greeks under the Macedonian and Roman governments, their country, and particularly Athens, was long regarded as the principal seat of arts and philosophy. But the Greek artists, as well as poets, orators, historians, and philosophers, of later times, were mere imitators, who fell infinitely short of the merit and fame of the great originals. The works of Phidias and Apelles, of Sophocles, Demosthenes, Plato, &c. not those of the Greeks their own contemporaries, were the objects of admiration to Cicero and Seneca, to the writers of the Augustan age, to Pliny, Tacitus, &c. But of this, more in the next chapter.

C H A P. acquisition of Syria doubled the revenues of that
XXXIX. republic. The subjugation of Egypt doubled
 the price of commodities in Italy. Yet what-
 ever might be the wealth ⁶¹ of those nations, they
 have not acquired much fame with posterity,
 since, amidst all their external advantages, they
 are not distinguished by any invention that im-
 proved the practice of war, or greatly increased
 the enjoyments of peace.⁶²

State of
 Greece af-
 ter the age
 of Alex-
 ander.

The feeble mixture of Grecian colonization
 diffused through the East, was sufficient, indeed,
 to tinge, but too inconsiderable to alter and assi-
 milate, the vast mass of barbarism. But as the
 principle of degeneracy is often stronger than
 that of improvement, the sloth and servility of
 Asia gradually crept into Greece. That unfor-
 tunate country, drained of its most enterprising
 inhabitants, who either followed the standard, or
 opposed the arms, of Alexander, was equally in-
 sulted by the severity and the indulgence of his
 successors, since, in either case, the Greeks felt
 and acknowledged their dependence. Reluc-
 tantly compelled to submit to a master, they
 lost that elevation of character, and that enthu-
 siasm of valour, which had been produced by
 freedom, nourished by victory, and confirmed
 by the just sense of national pre-eminence.
 Their domestic dissensions, by carrying them
 in great numbers into the service of foreign
 princes, thereby diffused the knowledge of their

⁶¹ Of which see an account extracted from the public registers, in Appian. Alexand. in Proem.

⁶² For the history of arts and sciences under the Ptolemies, see the Second Part of this Work, chapters viii. xi. xvi. xxv.

tactics and discipline through countries far more extensive and populous than their own; and amidst all their personal animosities, the Captains of Alexander, uniformly embracing the maxims of despotism which their master magnanimously disdained, firmly and unitedly resisted and crushed the rising rebellions of the Greeks, whose feeble and ill-conducted efforts for regaining their liberty, only plunged them the deeper into servitude. Destitute of immediate and important objects to rouse their activity, the example of their ancestors at length ceased to animate and inspire them. The rewards of merit being withdrawn, men no longer aspired at excellence. The spirit of patriotism evaporated; the fire of genius was extinguished; exertion perished with hope; and, exclusively of the Achæan League⁶², the unfortunate issue of which I had occasion before to mention⁶³, Greece, from the age of Alexander, offers not any series of transactions highly memorable in the history of arts or arms.

⁶² Polybius treats the Achæan league, and other collateral transactions of the Greeks and Macedonians, as episodes in his Roman history in forty books, of which only five have come down to us. Other writers, whose works are entirely lost, considered the Greek affairs as principal, and interwove with them those of the Romans, Jews, Parthians and Carthaginians. See the Second Part of this work, c. xxv.

⁶³ See vol. ii. p. 15.

CHAP. XL.

State of Literature in the Age of Alexander. — Poetry — Music — Arts of Design — Geography — Astronomy — Natural History. — Works of Aristotle. — Philosophical Sects established at Athens. — Decline of Genius. — Tenets of the different Sects. — Peripatetic Philosophy. Estimate of that Philosophy. — Its Fate in the World. — Coincidence in the Opinions of Zeno and Epicurus. — The Stoic Philosophy. — Estimate of that Philosophy. — The Epicurean Philosophy. — Character of Epicurus. — Philosophy of Pyrrho. — Conclusion.

CHAP.
XL.

State of
literature
in the age
of Alex-
ander.

IN the latter years of Alexander, literature, philosophy, and the fine arts, displayed their brightest charms; yet the source of that health and vigour, from which their beauty flowed, had already begun to fail. The military expeditions of this matchless conqueror were described, and published after his death, in the authentic and interesting narratives of Ptolemy and Aristobulus¹, who had been the witnesses and companions of his victories. But his extraordinary exploits, and unexampled success, which far eclipsed the imaginary renown of the fabled heroes of antiquity, produced, even in his life-time, a crowd of writers, whose credulity, and love of the marvellous, could only be exceeded by their mean adulation, and servile superstition.² Exaggera-

¹ Arrian, in Præm.

² Lucian. de Scribend. Histor.

tion in matters of fact produced that swelling
amplification of style, those meretricious orna-
ments and affected graces, which characterised
the puerile and frigid compositions of Callis-
thenes, Clitarchus, Onesicritus, and Hegesias.³
The false taste of these rash innovators, to whose
perverse industry must be ascribed the ridicu-
lous trappings which have too long disfigured
the august form of Alexander, was admired and
imitated by many contemporary historians. The
contagion infected even the orators; and it is
worthy of observation, that the verbose empti-
ness and bombast of the Asiatic eloquence, was
first introduced into Greece in the age which had
applauded the chaste and nervous compositions
of Lysurgus, Hyperides, Æschines, and Demos-
thenes.⁴ So true it is, that in every country
where the human genius has attained its highest
point of perfection, a principle of degeneracy
naturally carries things in a contrary direction;
because those, who are incapable of excellence,
still covet distinction, and, despairing to surpass
their predecessors in the beauties of truth and
nature, vainly solicit praise by false conceits and
artificial refinements, by empty exaggerations and
boastful loquacity.

Under the Macedonian government, Greece
produced not any original genius in the serious
kinds of poetry. The tragedies of Sophocles and

³ Strabo, l. xiv. 648. Conf. Polybius, l. xii. c. 17.

⁴ Dionys. Halicarn. de Structura Oration. Longinus de Sublim.
Cicero de Orator. et de Clar. Orator. passim.

CHAP.

XL

Improvement of
comedy.

Euripides still kept possession of the theatre. But no lyric, no epic poem appeared, qualified to adorn the exploits of Alexander, though that prince, intoxicated with the love of fame, munificently rewarded the ignoble flattery of Agis, Cleon, Chærilus, and other contemptible encomiasts, who corrupted his heart, without vitiating his judgment, since he declared, that he would rather be the Thersites of Homer, than the Achilles of Chærilus.⁵ Yet in the same age Philemon, Antiphanes⁶, Lycon⁷, above all, the Athenian Menander, carried comedy to the highest perfection which it ever attained in any nation of antiquity. During the republican form of government, the institutions and character of the Greeks were unfavourable to the best improvement of this species of writing. The licentious turbulence of democracy generally converted their attempts at wit and humour into petulance and buffoonery. The change of government and manners, requiring due respect to the rules of propriety and the dictates of caution, improved their discernment, and gradually made them sensible to that refined ridicule, where more is meant than said, and to those more interesting, because juster, delineations of character, which distinguished the comic strains of Philemon and Menander.⁸

⁵ Acro. ad Horat. Art. Poet. v. 557. Curtius, l. viii. c. 5.

⁶ Athenæus, l. xiii. p. 555.

⁷ Plut. Orat. ii. de Fortun. Alexand.

⁸ Vid. Plut. Comp. Aristoph. & Menand.

CHAP.
XL.
Music.

Alexander, during his early youth, took delight in dramatic entertainments. Thessalus was his favourite actor, but Athenadorus was more approved by the public. To Athenadorus, the magistrates, who, according to ancient custom, were appointed to decide the pretensions between rivals for theatrical fame, adjudged the prize of merit. The young hero declared, that this decision gave him more pain than he would have felt at the loss of his inheritance.⁹ The musicians Timotheus¹⁰ and Antigenides¹¹ still displayed the wonderful powers of their art; but as the severity of education and manners continually relaxed in all parts of Greece, it was observed that music, originally destined to purify and exalt the mind, was in later times universally employed to seduce and inflame the passions.¹²

Arts of
design.

The arts of design, painting, sculpture, and architecture, appeared in their highest lustre in the age of Philip and Alexander, both which princes had no less taste to judge¹³, than munificence to promote them. The eastern expedition of Alexander introduced, or at least greatly multiplied in Greece, those precious and durable gems, which thenceforth exhibited some of the finest specimens of Grecian ingenuity. The skill and taste of Pyrgoteles were distinguished in this

⁹ Plut. Orat. ii. de Fortun. Alexand.

¹⁰ Hephæst. de Metr.

¹¹ Plut. Orat. de Fortun. Alexand.

¹² Aristot. Politic. l. viii. c. 6.

¹³ Judicium subtile videndis artibus. Hor. Ep. l. ii. Ep. i. v. 242.

CHAP.

XL.

Lysippus.

Apelles
and other
contemporary
artists.

valuable, though minute art.¹⁴ He enjoyed the exclusive honour of representing the figure of Alexander on gems, as did Lysippus of casting it in bronze, and Apelles of exhibiting it in colours.¹⁵ Lysippus was justly admired for bringing back the art to a closer study, and nearer imitation, of nature, without yielding to his predecessors in ideal beauty.¹⁶ We have already mentioned his twenty-one equestrian statues of the Macedonian guards, slain in the battle of the Granicus. He is said to have made six hundred and ten figures in bronze¹⁷; a number which, if not greatly exaggerated, would prove his facility of working to have far surpassed that of all statuary, ancient or modern. The numerous list of painters, contemporary with Apelles, indicates an extraordinary demand for their art; since no profession, that is not gainful, will ever be very generally followed.¹⁸ The most celebrated of these artists were Amphion and Asclepiodorus¹⁹, whom Apelles acknowledged as his superiors in some points of composition; Aristides the Theban, who was inimitable in expression²⁰; and Protogenes of Rhodes, whom Aristotle exhorted to paint the

¹⁴ Plin. l. vii. c. 37. & Plutarch. in Alexand.

¹⁵ Vid. Plin. edit. Berolin. l. 221. iii. 217—228.

¹⁶ Plin. iii. 194. et seq.

¹⁷ The Sieur Falconet, who made the famous statue of Peter the Great, thinks the thing impossible, and gives a different meaning to the words of Pliny. See his observations on the passage, in his translation of the books of Pliny relative to the arts. Vol. ii. Lausanne.

¹⁸ Plin. iii. 222.

¹⁹ Idem, iii. 226.

²⁰ Idem, iii. 215—225.

exploits of Alexander on account of the unperishing dignity of the subject.²¹ The inferior branches of the art, if not first cultivated in that age, were then carried to perfection. Pyreicus²² confined himself to subjects of low life, and Antiphilus²³ to caricatures, which the Greeks called Grylli. The theory and practice of painting were explained in many works, the loss of which is much to be regretted.²⁴

Amidst the great multitude of artists, and writers on art, all acknowledged the pre-eminence of Apelles, whose works were innumerable, and each sufficient to establish his renown.²⁵ His picture of Alexander grasping a thunderbolt, was sold to the temple of Ephesian Diana for four thousand pounds. His Venus Anadyomené was damaged by accident; none would venture to restore the parts that had been effaced; so that the injury of the picture contributed to the glory of the artist. The model of this Venus was the beautiful Campaspé, the favourite mistress of Alexander. The sensibility of Apelles was too deeply penetrated with the charms which he so successfully expressed. Alexander was no sooner acquainted with his passion, than, in the language of Pliny, he made him a present, not only of Campaspé, but of his own affection, too little respecting the feelings of the beloved object, at her degradation in passing from the bed of a king

Works of
Apelles.

²¹ "Propter eternitatem rerum." Plin. *ibid.*

²² Plin. *iii.* 226.

²³ *Idem*, *iii.* 229.

²⁴ *Idem*, *ibid.*

²⁵ Plin. *iii.* 222. *et seq.*

C H A P. into that of a painter. Yet this celebrated artist, **XL.** who enjoyed other striking proofs of his master's partiality and friendship, lived on good terms with his brethren. With the frankness of his age and nation, he assumed the merit which belonged to him, and freely asserted that none of his competitors could imitate the gracefulness²⁶ of his attitudes and figures. But in some other branches of the art, he acknowledged his inferiority to several of his contemporaries. The desire of seeing the works of Protogenes carried him to Rhodes. He there found a rival not altogether unworthy to alarm his jealousy. But instead of yielding to the dictates of this miserable passion, he drew Protogenes from obscurity, raised the price of his pictures; and taught the Rhodians, who undervalued the same talents in their fellow-citizen which they admired in a stranger, to acknowledge and respect his merit.²⁷

Decline of
the arts
after the
death of
Alexander.

Soon after the death of Alexander, painting and the kindred arts ceased.²⁸ By this expression, Pliny means not, that they ceased to be cultivated, but to make farther progress; since neither the scholars of Apelles and Lysippus, nor those who came after them, were able to reach the glory of their predecessors. The Greek kings of Egypt and Syria should seem to have bent their attention rather to literature, than to the

²⁶ "Deesse iis unam Venerem dicebat quam Græci charita vocant; cetera omnia contigisse; sed hæc solâ sibi neminem parem." Plin. iii. 222. et seq.

²⁷ Plin. *ibid.*

²⁸ "Cessavit deinde ars." Plin. *ibid.*

arts. But, in both, the schools of Alexandria and Seleucia never aspired beyond the humble merit of imperfectly imitating those of Greece. In proportion to its neighbourhood to that country, the arts took firmer root in Alexandria than in Seleucia ; and, from the same circumstance, they are said to have flourished longer and more abundantly in the little principalities of Pergamus and Bithynia, than in the wealthy kingdoms of Syria and Egypt.²⁹

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XL.

The expedition of Alexander contributed to the improvement of the sciences, both natural and moral. His marches were carefully measured by Diognetes and Beton. Other geometers³⁰ were employed to survey the more remote parts of the countries which he traversed ; and the exact description of his conquests, which, from these and other materials, he took care to have compiled by men of approved integrity and abilities, gave a new form to the science of geography.³¹

Geogra-
phy.

After the conquest of Babylon, Alexander eagerly demanded the astronomical observations, which had been carefully preserved in that ancient capital above nineteen centuries. They remounted twenty-two hundred and thirty-four years beyond the Christian æra. By order of Alexander, they were faithfully transcribed, and

Astrono-
my.

²⁹ Winkermann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, p. 711. et seq.

³⁰ Strabo, l. ii. p. 47.

³¹ Cassini sur l'Origine de l'Astronomie, &c. *Academ. des Sciences*, l. viii. p. 13.

CHAP. transmitted to Aristotle³², who was probably
 XL. prevented by his infirm state of health from accompanying his pupil to the East; or who, perhaps, voluntarily preferred a philosophical retirement in Athens, to the glory of attending the conqueror of the world.

Natural
 history.

Nor was this the only present to his preceptor, by which Alexander displayed at once his gratitude and love of science. Natural history was peculiarly indebted to his curiosity and munificence. At the expence of nearly two hundred thousand pounds, but equivalent to two millions in the present age, he collected many rare productions of nature in different countries of Asia, and particularly that amazing variety of animals³³, which Aristotle has described with such inimitable precision³⁴ in his work on that subject.

Moral
 knowledge.

But whatever obligations natural knowledge owed to Alexander, it would seem that the moral sciences were not less benefited by his discoveries and conquests.³⁵ The study of human nature must have been greatly enlarged by such a wide survey of men and manners; nor was this advantage, perhaps, confined to those who per-

³² Porphy. apud Simplicium, in Aristot. de Cælo, l. ii.

³³ Plin. l. viii. c. 16.

³⁴ See the admirable criticism on Aristotle's History of Animals, by Buffon, vol. i.

³⁵ The arts and sciences not only flourished in Alexander's time; they flourished, says Plutarch, *δια Αλεξανδρον*. "He was the efficient cause of this effect." The passage which follows, *Καρπον μιν γαρ ευροσαν*, &c. should be studied by all princes who aspire to glory; a glory greater than power can give; more extensive and more permanent than conquest can confer.

formed the expedition, whose works have unfortunately perished; since the moral and political treatises of Aristotle discover not only more method in his reasonings, but a more copious fund of facts on which to reason, than the writings of all his predecessors together, not excepting those of the travellers Xenophon and Plato.

CHAP.
XL.

The greatest part of the works of Aristotle were doubtless composed before the Macedonian conquest; yet it is not improbable that this extraordinary man, whose industry was equal to his genius, continually retouched and improved them; and it cannot be imagined that the rich harvest of facts and observations collected by his learned friends who accompanied Alexander, would be overlooked by a philosopher, who seems not only ambitious to eclipse his predecessors and contemporaries, but solicitous to leave no gleanings of fame to be acquired by his scholars and successors.

“Aristotle,” says Lord Bacon³⁶, “thought, like the Ottoman princes, that he could not reign secure, unless he destroyed all his brethren; nor was his literary ambition more exclusive than exorbitant. He aspired to embrace the whole circle of the arts and sciences, and professed to explain whatever can be known concerning the moral, as well as the material world. Not satisfied with extending his empire to the utmost verge of intellect, he boldly attempts questions

Works of
Aristotle.

³⁶ De Augm. Scientiarum, l. iii. c. 4.

CHAP.

XL.

His philo-
sophy.

beyond all human research, with the same confidence that his pupil entered on a battle. But having to contend with enemies more stubborn than the Persians, his rashness was less successful than that of Alexander.

He divided philosophy into contemplative and practical. The contemplative or abstract philosophy, to which he first gave the name of metaphysics³⁷, is, from the imperfection in which the text has come down to us, obscure throughout, and often unintelligible. It comprehended not only the examination of those abstract ideas, *existence, substance, quality, genus, species, &c.* which were so long and so uselessly tortured by the perverse industry of the schoolmen, but the general doctrines concerning mind or spirit, particularly the mind of the Deity. The human soul is treated in a separate work; in which it must be acknowledged, that Aristotle has made new names,

³⁷ By some writers it is supposed, that this title was bestowed on the fourteen books of Aristotle, immediately following his *Physics*, by Andronicus of Rhodes, a Peripatetic philosopher in the age of Augustus, who published the first complete edition of Aristotle's works. From that time, the various subjects treated in these fourteen books were considered as constituting one branch of science. Aristotle had divided philosophy into speculative and practical. The first comprehended metaphysics, which examined the general properties of being, and the essence of things separate from matter; physics, which examined the nature of material substances, and the human soul; and mathematics, which examined certain properties of body, abstracted from body. The practical philosophy of Aristotle, which was intended to regulate the intellectual and moral operations of men, comprehended logic, under which he seems to have included rhetoric and criticism; and ethics, including œconomics and politics. See Strabo, p. 609.; and Bayle's Dictionary, article Tyrannion; and the new Analysis of Aristotle's speculative works, prefixed to my translation of his Practical Philosophy.

rather than new discoveries ; and the doctrine of the immortality is no where better elucidated by this philosopher, than in the writings of his master, Plato. C H A P.
XL.

The natural philosophy of Aristotle deserves the name of metaphysic, in the modern sense of that word, since he explained the laws of the universe, by comparing abstract ideas, not by observation and experience. When he descends to particulars, he speaks less decisively concerning the motions and magnitudes of the heavenly bodies, than many of his predecessors. With the anatomy of man and other animals, he was well acquainted, considering the gross errors which generally prevailed in the age in which he lived. Chemistry was not yet cultivated as a science. Since the introduction of the ideal philosophy, men had ceased to *observe* nature ; it could not therefore be expected that they should *imitate* her operations, and examine her by the test of experiment. In mathematics, Aristotle appears to have been less versed than his precursors, Pythagoras and Plato ; although in the invention of the art of syllogism, he displays a perseverance of mental energy, which, had it been directed to the mathematical sciences, might have produced the greatest discoveries. Physics.

The scepticism of his contemporary Pyrrho, and still more the captious sophistry of the Eristics, might naturally engage Aristotle to examine with particular attention the nature of truth, and the means of defending it against the attacks of declamation and the snares of subtlety. He undertook, therefore, the arduous task, of resolving Logic.

C H A P.

XL.

all reasoning into its primary elements, and of deducting from thence the rules by which every conclusion must be connected with its premises, in order to render it legitimate. This bold design he accomplished; having erected, on a single axiom, a larger system of abstract truths, all fortified by demonstration, than were ever invented and perfected by any other man. The axiom from which he sets out, and in which the whole terminates, is, that whatever is predicated of a genus, may be predicated of every species and individual contained under it. But the application of this axiom is for the most part sufficiently obvious, without the rules of Aristotle; whose logic, how successful soever it might prove against the subtleties of the Sophists and *Eristics*, contributes little to the formation of the understanding, and nothing to the judicious observation of man or nature, on which all useful discoveries must be founded.³⁷

His critical
and moral
writings.

From the general wreck of literature, in which many of Aristotle's writings perished³⁸, had nothing been saved but the works above mentioned, it must be confessed that the preceptor of Alexander would not greatly merit the attention of history. In his abstract or metaphysical philosophy, we have often to lament vast efforts mispent, and great genius misapplied. But, in his

³⁷ I speak here according to popular and approved opinion: but, after long and patient examination, I have been compelled, by the force of truth, to give a new and far more favourable view of Aristotle's logic and of his speculative philosophy in general. See Aristotle's *Ethics* and *Politics* translated, &c. Vol. ii. p. 64. third edit.

³⁸ See Bayle's Dictionary, article Tyrannion; and the Life of Aristotle prefixed to my translation of his *Ethics* and *Politics*.

critical and moral, and above all, in his political works, we find the same penetrating and comprehensive mind, the same subtlety of reasoning, and vigour of intellect, directed to objects of the greatest importance and most extensive utility. The condition of the times in which he lived, and the opportunities peculiar to himself, conspired with the gifts of nature, and the habits of industry, to raise him to that eminence, which was acknowledged by his contemporaries, and admired by posterity.

He was born in the first year of the ninety-ninth Olympiad, at Stagira, a provincial city of Macedon, and educated at the court of Pella, where his father was king's physician. In his early youth, he was sent to Athens, and remained there twenty years; an assiduous scholar of Plato, in a city where literature and the fine arts were cultivated with singular success, and where the philosophic spirit, though often improperly directed, flourished in the utmost vigour. Selected by the discernment of Philip to guide and confirm the promising dispositions of his admired son, he returned to his native country, and continued eight years at the Macedonian court. Whatever benefit accrued to Alexander from the instructions of Aristotle, it is certain that the latter derived great advantages from the gratitude of his royal pupil. Of this, several proofs have already occurred; and perhaps it may be ascribed to the munificence of Alexander, that his preceptor was enabled to form a library³⁹, a work of prodigious expence in that and the succeeding

His great opportunities of improvement.
A. C. 368.

³⁹ Strabo.

CHAP.

XL.

His long
residence
at Athens;

and death.
Olymp.
cxiv. 3.
A. C. 322.
Ætat. 63.

age, and in which he could only be rivalled by the Egyptian and Pergamenian kings. But the library of Aristotle was collected for use, not merely for ostentation.⁴⁰

The last fourteen years of his life he spent mostly at Athens, surrounded with every assistance which men⁴¹ and books could afford him, for prosecuting his philosophical inquiries. The glory of Alexander's name, which then filled the world, ensured tranquillity and respect to the man whom he distinguished as his friend; but, after the premature death of that awful protector, the invidious jealousy of priests and sophists inflamed the malignant and superstitious fury of the Athenian populace; and the same odious passions which proved fatal to the offensive⁴² virtue of Socrates, fiercely assailed the fame and merit of Aristotle. To avoid the cruelty of persecution, he secretly withdrew himself to Chalcis in Eubœa. This measure was sufficiently justified by a prudent regard to his personal safety; but lest his conduct should appear unmanly, when contrasted with the firmness of Socrates in a similar situation, he condescended to apologise for his flight, by saying, that he was unwilling to afford the Athenians a second op-

⁴⁰ The Egyptian and Pergamenian kings were lovers rather of books than of learning. They considered a great library as contributing to the superfluous magnificence of royalty. Vid. Galen. Comment. ii. in Hippocrat. de Natur. Hom.

⁴¹ Aristotle probably had many assistants in his philosophical inquiries and compositions. 'Ὁ δὲ σοφός, καὶ καθ' αὐτὸν ὡς, δύναται θεωρεῖν βελτίον δ' ἰσως συνεργούς ἔχων. Ethic. Nicom. l. x. c. 7.

⁴² Virtutem incolumen odimus

Sublatam ex oculis quærimus invidi. HORACE.

portunity "to sin against philosophy."⁴³ He seems to have survived his retreat from Athens only a few months: vexation and regret probably shortened his days.⁴⁴

CHAP.
XL.

Notwithstanding the occasional persecutions of speculative men, philosophy had fixed its roots too deeply in Athens, to be extirpated by the temporary phrenzy of a capricious populace. Theophrastus calmly succeeded Aristotle in the Peripaton, or walk of the Lyceum, from which place their followers retained the name of Peripatetics.⁴⁵ At the same time, Zeno taught *virtue* in the Stoa, or Portico, from which his disciples derived the appellation of Stoics.⁴⁶ Epicurus explained *pleasure* in those well-known gardens which were distinguished by his name.⁴⁷ The followers of Diogenes, the Cynic, still assembled in the Cynosarges⁴⁸; Speusippus and Xenocrates succeeded Plato in the academy⁴⁹; and even Pyrrho of Elis, founder of the sceptical sect, who had accompanied Alexander in his eastern expedition, and shared the munificence of that prince⁵⁰, became, after the death of his

Philosophical
sects established
at Athens.

Olymp.
cxxx.

⁴³ Αμαρτανω περι την φιλοσοφίαν. Ælian, l. iii. c. 6.

⁴⁴ Laert. l. v. in Aristot. & Auctor. citat. apud Brucker. Histor. Philosoph. vol. i. p. 787. et seq.

⁴⁵ The common opinion, that the followers of Aristotle were called Peripatetics, εκ του Περιπατεω, "ex deambulatione," adopted by Cicero and others, is refuted by the authors cited by Brucker, v. i. p. 787.

⁴⁶ Laert. vii. 5.

⁴⁷ Cicero ad Attic. l. ii. epist. 24.

⁴⁸ Idem, ibid.

⁴⁹ Suidas in Speusipp. Laert. l. iv. c. 1. et seq.

⁵⁰ Sextus Empiric. Pyrrhon Hypotyp. l. i. c. 3.

CHAP.
XL.

A. D. 396.
Decline of
genius.

benefactor, a citizen of Athens.⁵¹ Thus did that illustrious city, after the extinction of its freedom, and of its military glory, still maintain its pre-eminence in literature, philosophy, and the fine arts. In the age of Alexander, Athens, as the seat of learning, assumed that precise form, which it exactly preserved seven centuries, till the destructive invasion of Greece by Alaric, and the Goths. For it is worthy of observation, that the philosophers, who, during this long interval, perpetuated the several sects, submissively followed the opinions of their respective masters. Soon after the age of Alexander, genius disappeared; literature and the arts alike degenerated; no new sect arose; few innovations, and those unsuccessful, were attempted⁵²: and thus the period, which has been assigned for the termination of the present work, seems to have bounded the progress of the human mind; whether, according to the observation of Longinus, because liberty is the best nurse of genius, and singularly adapted, by cherishing the emulation and the hopes, to excite the energies, of those born to true excellence⁵³; or because, in the words of a great philosopher, “there is a pitch of exaltation, as well as of depression, to which, when any nation has attained, its affairs necessarily return in an opposite direction.”

⁵¹ Laert. in Pyrrhon.

⁵² See supplement to my New Analysis of Aristotle's speculative Philosophy.

⁵³ Long. de Sublim. sect. 44.

Instead of examining this speculative question, which the world is perhaps still too young to enable us with accuracy to determine, it will better suit the design of an historical work to explain the tenets of the different schools of philosophy, then first established in Athens; briefly to relate their various success in the world; and to inquire, with becoming modesty, how far those artificial systems of happiness correspond with the natural dictates of unperverted sentiment, and impartial reason.

C H A P.
XL.

Tenets of
the differ-
ent sects.

Aristotle, the founder of the Peripatetic school, recognised, like Socrates and Plato, the dignity of human nature, and placed the chief happiness of man, not in the agreeableness of his passive sensations, but in the proper exercise⁵⁴ of his intellectual and moral powers. According to Aristotle, the habit of this exercise, directed by right reason, constituted the highest excellence of man, in the same manner as the excellence of other animals, and even of the vegetable and mineral kingdoms, resulted from the perfection of those qualities, by which they are respectively distinguished. Yet, as man is a compound being, consisting of mind and matter, it seemed evident that his well-being must in some measure depend on the condition of his body, and on the

Tenets of
the Peri-
patetic
sect.

⁵⁴ The stoics adopted, on this occasion, both the sentiments and the language of Aristotle. *Ὁ μὲν φιλοδοξῶς ἀλλοτρίαν ἐνεργεῖαν ἰδίαν ἀγαθὸν ὑπολαμβάνει· ὁ δὲ φιληδονὸς, ἰδίαν πρᾶξιν· ὁ δὲ νοῦν ἔχων, ἰδίαν πρᾶξιν.* M. Anton. vi. 51. "The vain-glorious man places his own happiness in the sentiments and actions of others: the voluptuous man, in his passive sensations; the wise man, in his own active exertions."

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means necessary to maintain this inferior part of his nature in its most perfect state. The absence of disease and infirmity, and the proper constitution of all our bodily organs, are things desirable not only on their own account, but as furnishing us with the opportunity and the means of exerting those mental energies, from which our principal felicity results. In the same manner, the goods of fortune, wealth, friends, and other external advantages, are desirable not only as contributing to the supply of our bodily wants, but as the instruments through which a wise man is enabled to exercise his virtues, and accomplish his purposes. Amidst great calamities⁵⁵, Aristotle required not that perfect self-command to which some philosophers pretended. He allowed a moderate degree of perturbation, as suitable to the weakness of human nature. In the present constitution of things, he thought a certain sensibility of passion not only excusable, but necessary; since resentment enabled us to repel injuries⁵⁶, and grief for past misfortunes made us vigilant to prevent the future evils that might otherwise overtake us. But although this great philosopher acknowledged the influence of fortune in human affairs, and thought it impossible for the firmness of men to remain unmoved amidst the miseries of Priam⁵⁷; he maintained, how-

⁵⁵ Ουτε γὰρ ἐκ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας κινήσεται ραδίως, οὔτε ὑπο τῶν τυχόντων ἀτυχημάτων, ἀλλ' ὑπο μεγάλων καὶ πολλῶν. *Ethic. Nicom. l. i. c. 10.*

⁵⁶ To bear insults tamely, was regarded as highly ungraceful, and becoming only the character of a slave. Τοδε προσηλακίζομενον ἀνεχέσθαι ἀνδραποδῶδες. *Ethic. Nicom. iv. 2.*

⁵⁷ Ἐν τυχαῖς Πριαμικαῖς. *Aristot. Ethic. Nicom. p. 40.*

ever, that we ourselves were the principal architects of our own happiness. The attainment of this great object depended far more on our own thoughts and reflections, which were ever and intimately present with us, and on the constitution of our own minds, which were in some measure subject to our own direction and controul, than on our external situation and circumstances, which only affected us incidentally, and over which we commonly enjoyed but little power, and sometimes none. The perfection of our virtue, which was entirely our own work, shone forth with peculiar lustre amidst the gloom of unmerited calamity. When we bore it with becoming patience, we rejoiced in our own fortitude; and this inward pleasure often destroyed, always deadened the smart of external wounds. Assailed by the most terrible afflictions, a wise man would not deserve indeed the epithet of *happy*; yet neither could he be called *miserable*, since he would still disdain to commit any thing odious or base. Philosophy, which professes to teach us the art of enjoying life, must therefore disregard such circumstances as we can neither govern nor change, and confine itself to that part which we can regulate and controul. It must withdraw our attention from external objects, and fix it on ourselves.

To know himself, man must know the powers with which he is endowed. Of these we possess some in common with other animals⁵⁹, and others in common even with the inanimate parts of na-

Division of
the mental
powers.

⁵⁹ The το αισθητικόν, the powers of sensation, &c.

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Intellectual and moral virtues.

ture.⁶⁰ In none of those, it is evident, can the proper employment of man consist, but rather in such faculties as, being peculiar to himself, distinguish and ennoble humanity. These characteristic excellencies of our species all refer, either to the understanding, or to the will⁶¹; the first possesses reason essentially in itself, the second is capable of being combined and assimilated with this divine principle. From the two powers of the understanding and the will are respectively derived two classes of virtues, the intellectual and the moral. Sagacity, penetration, intelligence, wisdom, are virtues of the understanding; gentleness, temperance, fortitude, justice, are virtues of the heart. The former class consists in the proper disposition and habit⁶² of the intellectual part of the soul; the latter, in the proper disposition and habit of the desires and affections, which being formed subordinate to reason, and capable of listening to its dictates, then only perform their duty, when, like obedient subjects, they cheerfully observe the commands of their sovereign. The intellectual virtues depend chiefly on education and exercise; the moral proceed entirely from habit, from which they derive their name.⁶³ It is by practising justice, that we be-

⁶⁰ The *το δρεωτικον*, &c. the powers of nutrition, &c.

⁶¹ I have ventured to use this word to express the *το ορεκτικον* of Aristotle, the seat of the appetites, affections, and passions.

⁶² *Επαινούμεν δε και τον σοφον κατα την εξην των εξην δε τας επαυρετας, αρετας λεγομεν.* Ethic. Nicom. l. i. c. ult.

⁶³ In explaining the Aristotelian philosophy, the learned reader will perceive that I have translated, as literally as possible, the energetic expressions of its author. *Ηθικος εθος*; moralis, mos. The

come just; by practising temperance, that we
become temperate; by practising courage, that

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same holds not in English. The words *αρετη* in Greek, and *virtus* in Latin, are of very general import, denoting any praise-worthy disposition, habit, or quality, of body or mind, intellectual or moral. The indeterminate use of these words has occasioned strange confusion. The late ingenious Mr. Hume, in his *Inquiry into the Principles of Morals*, which, in other respects, he justly considers as the most valuable of his writings, enters into a large deduction, to prove that all virtues are praised and recommended as useful or agreeable. These qualities constitute, according to him, the proper definition, the very essence of virtue; and all other distinctions are frivolous. To justify this paradox, he alleges the authority of Greek poets and philosophers, who apply the term *virtue* to bodily strength or address, to memory, judgment, sagacity, &c. as well as to justice, humanity, charity. This indeed is true; but the Greeks distinguished between the virtues of the body, and those of the mind; and the mental virtues they divided into the intellectual and moral. Aristotle characterises moral virtue as a voluntary habit, and says, that moral approbation is excited only by the praise-worthy habit of such affections and actions as originate in ourselves, and depend on no extrinsic cause. See *Aristot. Magn. Moral.* l. i. c. 15. and his commentator, *Andronicus Rhodius*, p. 89., and the *Ethics* to *Nicomachus* throughout. Mr. Hume, therefore, is justly reprov'd by Dr. Beattie, for saying, "that the ancient moralists made no material distinction among the different species of mental endowments and defects." See *Hume's Inquiry*, vol. ii. p. 387. But although the ancients, and Aristotle in particular, make very material distinctions between moral and intellectual virtues, yet, in his zeal for the good cause, Dr. Beattie goes too far in asserting, "that though they considered both the moral and intellectual virtues as necessary to the formation of a perfect character, and sometimes discoursed of both in the same treatise or system, yet they deemed the latter valuable only as means to qualify us for the former, and insignificant, or even odious, when they failed to answer this end." See *Essay on Truth*, p. 425. First of all, according to the Greek moralists, it is impossible ever to treat of the moral virtues as distinct from the intellectual, since the former could not exist without a mixture of reason or intellect. *Ethic. Nicom.* passim; and particularly, l. iii. c. 2. Secondly, The intellectual virtues were so far from being esteemed only as means to qualify us for the moral, that Aristotle considers the exercise of the former

CHAP. we become courageous. Hence the wonderful
 XL. power of legislation, and early institution, by
 which the Cretans, the Spartans, and some other
 nations were honourably distinguished among the
 rest of mankind; and by which such states as
 shall wisely imitate their example, may still reach
 the same elevation of character, and still acquire
 the same renown: "For it is not a matter of
 little moment how we are accustomed in youth;
 much depends on that, or rather all."

Moral vir-
 tue nei-
 ther natu-
 ral nor
 contrary
 to nature.

The moral virtues, it is evident, are not im-
 planted by nature; for that which is established
 by nature cannot be essentially changed by cus-
 tom. Heavy bodies, which, by the law of nature,
 descend, cannot be habituated to mount upwards;
 nor can fire, which naturally ascends, be taught
 by habit to move in a contrary direction. The
 same holds concerning all the other laws by which
 nature governs her works. Our senses, and other
 natural gifts, have the *power* of performing their
 several functions, before they exert it; and they
 retain this power, although we should allow them
 to remain inactive. But virtue, like all practical
 arts, can be acquired and preserved by practice
 only. It is neither natural nor contrary to na-
 ture. We are born capable of attaining it, but
 the invaluable attainment must be made and per-
 fected by action. Yet the greater part of those
 who aspire to this inestimable prize, have recourse
 to vain speculations, flattering themselves that

independently of the latter, as constituting our highest perfection
 and happiness. Ethic. Nicom. l. x. c. 7.

this is philosophy. Their conduct resembles that of a patient, who should carefully listen to his physician, but do nothing which he prescribed. By such medicine, it is not possible to cure the disorders of the body, nor, by such philosophy, those of the mind.

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Virtue, as a matter of practice, cannot be reduced to metaphysical precision. It is to be observed, however, that all the virtues depend on the propriety of the affections from which they arise; and that this propriety consists in a certain point or centre, from which the deviations may be innumerable. The vices, therefore, many of which are without names, are far more numerous than the virtues. In general, virtue may be conceived to lie in a mean betwixt the extremes of too much and too little; and this health of the mind resembles bodily health and strength, which are destroyed by excess or defect of nourishment or of exercise. Thus, to fear every thing is cowardly; to fear nothing is audacious; courage requires that we should fear only such objects as are truly formidable, and only in that degree in which they ought to be feared. In the same manner, he who is too much affected by objects of pleasure, and seizes every opportunity to enjoy them, is called intemperate; he who is too little affected by such objects, and refuses every opportunity to enjoy them, may be called *insensible*.⁶³ Temperance teaches us to pursue only such pleasures as we ought, at proper times, in proper

Wherein
it consists.

⁶³ *Αναισθητος*, and the abstract thence derived, denoted the particular vice described in the text.

CHAP. places, and on proper occasions. According to
 XL. the same view of things, generosity lies in the
 middle between avarice and profusion ; modesty,
 between pride and diffidence ; mildness, between
 irascibility and softness ; magnificence, between
 ostentation and parsimony ; *popularity*, between
 forbidding disdain and officious adulation ; in a
 word, every virtue consists in a mean, equally
 remote from two vicious extremes.⁶⁴

How it
 must be
 attained.

Considered as the quality of an action, virtue consists in the propriety of that affection from which the action proceeds ; when the affection is neither too strong nor too weak, but has precisely that degree of strength, which right reason teaches us to approve. As the quality of an action, virtue consists, therefore, in mediocrity ; but as the quality of a person, it consists in the habit of this mediocrity, since in judging persons and characters, we regard not particular acts and feelings, but such acts and feelings as are frequent and habitual. We may perform many virtuous actions, without being virtuous men. The most worthless of human kind sometimes indulge the propensity to pity and humanity. But whoever acts right, merely from feeling, will also, from feeling, more frequently act wrong. The sentiments of nature, which prompt us to take care of our children, to relieve objects in distress, and to perform many important duties of morality, likewise prompt us to gratify the vilest and most brutal of our passions. Besides this, there are many, and those the most important virtues, the

⁶⁴ Ethic. Nicom. i. ii. c. 1. et seq.

exercise of which is not primarily attended with pleasure. To support labour, to endure pain, to encounter difficulties and dangers, which wisdom and fortitude, on many occasions, require, are not obviously recommended by any natural desire; nor is the practice of such duties immediately agreeable. It is still less agreeable, in the first instance, to curb and restrain our natural appetites for pleasure, which is the proper office of temperance; nor can that vigilant circumspection, and ever watchful attention to the most remote consequences of our actions, which is essential to the virtue of prudence, be acquired without trouble and care, without many painful efforts and many difficult struggles. Yet it is the nature of all these virtues, as well as of the hardest lessons of justice, patriotism, and friendship, to become, through habit, agreeable; and the only sure test that we have acquired them, is, that they be practised with pleasure. With good reason, therefore, Plato defines education to be the art of teaching men to rejoice and grieve *as they ought*; for, though there be three ends ultimately agreeable, the pleasant, the honourable, and useful; yet honour and utility are likewise pursued as pleasures.⁶⁵

The most extensive part of virtue is employed, therefore, in regulating our desire of pleasure, and aversion to pain. It is also the most difficult; for, as Heraclitus observes, it is harder to combat pleasure than anger. The irascible passions are always moved by some appearance of reason; and,

The
hardest
task of
moral vir-
tue.

⁶⁵ Ethic. Nicom. l. vii. c. 11. et seq.

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in their most furious excesses, still affect some deference for their sovereign. They often, indeed, mistake his intentions; and, like hasty servants, fly into action, without waiting his last orders. But pleasure passively obeys sensation, without regarding reason at all. The mischief is the more dangerous, being produced by the first object of natural desire; for the love of pleasure is implanted in our frame; the germ expands with our nature; and unless counteracted in due time, becomes ingrained in our constitution, every part of which it pervades and stains. Habit alone can counteract those dangerous propensities of nature. Habit can enable us to reject dishonourable or hurtful pleasures, to prefer honourable or useful pains; for, as the poet Euenus says, "there is a long continued exercise of attention, which finally becomes nature."⁶⁶

Intellectual virtues the purest and most permanent source of happiness.

The moral virtues cannot, according to Aristotle, subsist without some mixture of the intellectual; but the latter may subsist alone and independent; and according to both Aristotle and Plato, the purest and most permanent felicity of

⁶⁶ Euenus was an elegiac poet of Paros, of whom few fragments remain. The verses translated in the text are,

Φημι πολυχρονίαν μελέτην φιλεῖ καὶ δὴ
ταύτην ἀνθρώποισι τελευτάσαν φύσιν εἶναι.

Habits, by long-continued care imprest,
Are strong as nature in the human breast.

This is better expressed by another Greek proverb: Ἐλου βίον ἀριστον, ἥδυν δὲ αὐτὸν ἢ συνηθείᾳ ποιήσει. Plut. Moral. p. 602. "Choose the best life, and custom will render it agreeable."

which man is susceptible, results from the exercise of his rational powers upon subjects of abstract speculation. The labours of the statesman or general, the exertions of the legislator or patriot, all refer to some end or purpose, the attainment of which may be prevented by fortune, or frustrated by the weakness or wickedness of men. The practice of justice, generosity, temperance, and fortitude, requires many conditions, and supposes a variety of situations, which it is not always in our power to command. The just or generous man must have objects to whom he may extend the effects of his justice or generosity; he must possess the means by which to exercise those virtues, which all participate of frail mortality; since, though directed by prudence, they are impelled by passion, and result from the exigencies of our present corporeal state. But the energies of contemplative wisdom are perennial and pure, like the intellectual source from which they spring. Not subservient to remote purposes, or contingent ends, they are immediately agreeable on their own account; and, on every side, round and complete in themselves. If the proper exercise of every member or faculty enlivens the sense of our existence, and thereby yields us a perception of pleasure, how wonderfully delightful must be the exercise of the intellect, which renders us sensible of the divine principle within us? To live according to nature, is to live according to the noblest part of our nature, which, doubtless, is the mind. To

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live thus, is the life of a god ; for, human as we are, we ought not, according to the vulgar exhortation, to regard only human things ; but, though mortal, strive to put on immortality⁶⁷ ; assured that, as the mind chiefly forms the man, he who most cultivates his mind, is the best disposed in himself, and the most agreeable to the gods.⁶⁸

Estimate
of Aristotle's
philosophy.

Such is the philosophy of Aristotle, lofty sometimes, and imposing, but in general, less erect and independent than that of Socrates and Plato, who preceded him ; less proud and boastful than that of the Stoics, or even the Epicureans, by whom he was followed ; and on the whole, perhaps, as unexceptionable as that of any moralist ancient or modern.

Its fate in
the world.

It is commonly observed, that Aristotle attained the same authority over the opinions of men, which his pupil Alexander acquired over their persons. But the empire of Alexander was established in his own lifetime, and perished with himself. That of Aristotle did not commence till more than a thousand years after his decease, and continued many centuries. The Peripatetic school subsisted, indeed, without interruption, at Athens ; but the Lyceum never attained there any pre-eminence above the Portico and Aca-

⁶⁷ Χρη δε ου κατα τους περαινουντας, ανθρωπινα φρονειν, ανθρωπον οντα, ουδε δηνητα τον δηνητον' αλλ' εφ' οσον ενδεχεται απαθανατιζειν, και απαντα ποιειν κατα το κρατισον των εν αυτη. *Ethic. Nicom. l. x. c. 7.*

⁶⁸ 'Ο δε κατα νουν ενεργων, και τουτον δερικευων, και διακειμενος αριστα, και στοφιλεστατος εοικειν ειναι. *Id. c. x. c. viii.*

demy. When philosophy was transplanted to a more splendid theatre in Rome, men of speculation and science generally preferred Plato to Aristotle⁶⁹; while many of the most celebrated characters of the republic enlisted themselves under the banners of Zeno or Epicurus. With the fall of Roman liberty, philosophy, as well as literature and the fine arts, slowly declined; and under the emperors, particularly in the second and third centuries of the Christian æra, the most extravagant of Plato's speculations were the doctrines best adapted to the condition of the times, and to the dark and shadowy minds of Plotinus, Porphyry, Jamblichus, and other contemplative visionaries, distinguished by the appellation of Eclectics, or later Platonists, who possessed the wildness without the fancy, and the subtilty, without the genius, of Plato.⁷⁰ During the succeeding centuries, the doctrines of Aristotle slowly gained the ascendant; but, as had happened to Plato in an earlier period, the most frivolous part of Aristotle's philosophy was the highest in esteem during the darkness of the middle ages. The decisive boldness of his logic, physic, and metaphysic, suited the genius of a church which affected to be universal, and the arrogance of a man who pretended to be infallible; and, while the useful and practical works of Aristotle were neglected, his specula-

⁶⁹ Cicero, *passim*.

⁷⁰ Besides the works of Brucker and Stanley, the learned reader may consult, on this subject, Professor Meiner's *Beytrag uber die Neu Platonische Philosophie*. Leipsig, 1782.

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Coincidence in the opinions of Zeno and Epicurus.

tive philosophy being thus incorporated with the Romish superstition, they long conspired, with astonishing success, to enthrall the human mind.

Zeno and Epicurus pretended, as well as Plato and Aristotle, to deduce their philosophy from experience; but their views of nature are less perspicuous, and less extensive; and their conclusions less convincing, and less reasonable. For the infinite variety of nature, they substituted the narrowness of their own artificial systems; and it will ever be the scandal of this abstract philosophy, that men who boasted following the same path, should have reached such opposite goals; the sect of Zeno having discovered, by all its researches, that pain was not an evil, and the sect of Epicurus, that pleasure was the only good; the Stoics, that virtue alone was truly valuable in itself, and desirable on its own account; the Epicureans, that virtue in itself was really of no value, and merely desirable for the sake of pleasure. Yet, amidst the striking contradictions of these sects, they agreed in speculative pride, loudly asserting, that the philosophy which they respectively taught, was the exclusive road to happiness. Both required from their imaginary sage an absolute command over his passions; and both supposed, that in his present state of existence, he could attain this perfection. Zeno and Epicurus alike rejected the doctrine of future rewards and punishments, as unnecessary to their system; both justified suicide; both boasted of enjoying a felicity equal to that of the gods; and, in proportion as their principles re-

ceded from truth and nature, and flattered that factitious vanity incident to the human heart, they were diffused with greater rapidity, more zealously embraced, and more obstinately defended.⁷¹

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The stoic
philoso-
phy.

In examining by what shew of reason, men, whose wisdom was revered by their contemporaries, could arrive at such extraordinary conclusions, the dignity of *virtue* demands the precedence for Zeno. That philosopher affected to examine, with great accuracy, the natural propensities of the human race; to observe the various changes which individuals underwent in their progress from infancy to manhood; to contemplate the effects produced by external causes on our internal frame; and, by comparing man with inferior animals, to display the illustrious prerogatives which he enjoyed, and the high destination which nature had assigned him. Self-preservation, he observed, was the universal and primary desire of all animals. In man, this desire respected his body, and all its different members, his mind, and all its different faculties; and prompted him to maintain the whole fabric of his complex being in the most perfect condition of which it is capable. Nature had generally attached a pleasure to the means necessary for this purpose; but, that we desired pleasure for the sake of preservation, not preservation for the sake of pleasure, he thought evident from the first motions and efforts of all animals, tending to prevent dissolution

⁷¹ Laert. in Zenon. & Epicur. Cicero de Finibus, l. i. ii. iii. Plutarch. de Commun. Concept. contra Stoicos.

· C H A P. antecedently to any distinct notions of pain or
 { XL. pleasure.⁷²

Love of
 truth.

Although, in the order of time, man perhaps first felt the propensities requisite to the safety of his bodily frame, yet, at a very early period, he shewed himself endowed with desires of a different, and more exalted kind. Not to mention the obscure intimations of his love of truth and knowledge during his infant state, in which he applied his senses with great activity to the examination of the objects presented to him, he naturally learned the use of words to denote these objects, as well as the reflections of his own mind concerning them ; and had no sooner made this important acquisition, than he testified an ardent curiosity to extend his knowledge, and to enlarge his acquaintance with the nature, the causes, the relations, and dependencies of the various classes of beings which he beheld around him. From this love and approbation of what is true and sincere, rather than of the contrary, which he felt to be congenial to his own nature, he readily believed whatever those persons, with whom he conversed, thought proper to communicate to him ; a principle which, though the source of innumerable errors and prejudices, served, however, as the only foundation on which his future improvements could be reared.

⁷² The principles of the stoical philosophy are explained in Cicero de Finibus, the works of Epictetus, Arrian, Simplicius, and Seneca. In treating of the practical duties of morality, Cicero, in his Offices, chiefly follows the principles of the stoics.

In examining the nature and relations of other things, he gradually became sensible of his own. His affections, he felt, carried him beyond his own person, and he derived happiness from the happiness of others, although he received from it no advantage but the pleasure of beholding it. The sentiments of justice, gratitude, and benevolence, he felt to be agreeable to his nature, to be proper and laudable; the contrary sentiments to be disagreeable to his nature, to be improper and odious. His own good, therefore, was thus pointed out to him, by the original frame of his sentiments, to be intimately connected with the good of his family, his friends, his country, and the great society of mankind, of which he made part. Enlarging his views still farther, he perceived, that every species is fashioned relatively to the element in which it lives; thus fishes have fins for the water, birds have wings for the air; and that many of these species are mutually connected with, and reciprocally subservient to, each other, while all of them essentially enter into the great plan of nature, and complete the harmony and perfection of that universal system, to the stability of which the order of particular parts, or what, in each species, and in each individual, is called private good, must necessarily be subordinate. Considering the narrowness of human capacity, it is not wonderful that many of the connections and dependencies of this universal system should escape our observation. But if we confine our view to those objects of which we have the clearest apprehen-

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Social affection.

Universal system.

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sion, we shall find that they all depend on each other, and are united in one scheme or constitution of things. The individuals of the human race were doubtless formed not for themselves alone. In the different sexes, the external organization, and still more the inward frame; the correspondence of parts, and still more the sympathy of sentiments, indicate the male and female mutually destined for each other. The naked helplessness of infancy requires the tender cares of a parent. The decrepitude of age loudly demands the kind returns of filial gratitude. In early ages of the world, men, without uniting in small communities, must have fallen a prey to the savages of the desert; and, with the growth of these communities, social affection naturally makes progress; since, with the advancement of arts and civility, the bands which unite us to our country are multiplied and strengthened.

Rules of
duty
thence de-
rived.

In thus contemplating the relations in which he stands, man becomes sensible of the duties required of him. The voice of nature teaches him (for this is her universal law) that the greater good is to be preferred to the lesser, and the good of the many to that of the few. In applying this rule to all the classes of objects submitted to our choice, we live consistently with nature. The goods of the mind, therefore, must be preferred to those of the body; and what is called private interest must yield to that of the public. Even in objects of the same class, the general law must be observed. We must *prefer* and *reject*, according to the rules of right reason, not according to

caprice and fancy. In the primary objects of desire respecting the body, health is to be preferred to strength, and strength to agility; and in the secondary objects respecting this part of our nature, or those which may be employed as instruments to procure bodily pleasures, and ward off bodily pains, such as wealth, power, the good opinion of those with whom we live, and innumerable other circumstances of a similar kind, we must uniformly regulate our conduct by the same great principles of preference and rejection.⁷³ In thus appreciating the objects of desire, and when all cannot be obtained, in preferring the most valuable and honourable; in thus appreciating the objects of aversion, and when all cannot be avoided, in rejecting the most hurtful and odious, consist that order and harmony, that just balance of affection, and perfect propriety of conduct, which essentially contains in it whatever is meritorious, laudable, and happy. It is concerning the primary objects of desire, indeed, and the means necessary to attain them, that this propriety of sentiment and action is exercised; but as those to whom we are introduced are often more valued by us, than those by whom we were made known to them, so the duties of wisdom and virtue, to which we have been, as it were, recommended by the original propensities of our nature, are far more estimable

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⁷³ The technical terms of the stoical philosophy, like all terms of art, sound awkward in languages in which they were not originally invented; nothing can be more natural than the Greek expressions, *εργασθαι* and *εκκλινειν*.

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in themselves, than all the external advantages which they are fitted to procure. When our lives are harmonised to virtue, when we perceive the agreement of our thoughts and actions to propriety and decorum, the beauty of this concord strikes us as infinitely more desirable than all the ends which it has a tendency to promote: this concord itself becomes the great, or rather the sole, end of all our pursuits; compared with which, health and sickness, riches and poverty, pain and pleasure, are finally considered as objects of little moment, and altogether incapable of shaking the stability of our happiness.

The pleasure of observing them.

It is in vain that men seek felicity in those objects which depend not on themselves; which, even while they possess, they fear to lose; and which fortune can either give or take away.⁷⁴ The feelings of our own minds, which are ever and intimately present to us, must always afford the principal source of our happiness or misery. To a wise man, therefore, every condition of external circumstances, and every situation in life, must be alike indifferent, since there is none wherein he can be placed, in which he may not perform his duty, and render himself an object of approbation and applause to all rational nature. To feel in our own minds the testimony of the whole universe in our favour, and to be sensible, that whatever may be the consequences of our conduct, it has been governed by the great rules

⁷⁴ Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐφ' ἡμῶν εἰσι φύσει εὐχερῆ, ἀκωλύτα, ἀπαρομποδίστα· τὰ δὲ οὐχ ἐφ' ἡμῶν, ἀσθενή, δουλεῖα, κωλύτα, ἀλλοτρία. Epictet. Enchir. c. ii.

which the Divinity prescribes, affords a degree of in-ward satisfaction, to which the greatest outward prosperity can add nothing worthy of calculation; for as a single drop of water is lost in the broad expanse of the *Ægæan*, as a single step is disregarded in the immense distance to India, as the light of a taper is eclipsed by the meridian sun⁷⁵, so the external conveniences of life, and the advantages pertaining to the body, are overwhelmed, obscured, and lost, in the transcendant excellence and incomparable splendour of virtue.

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Those dangers which appear most formidable, and those calamities which appear most dreadful to the vulgar, cannot intimidate or afflict the man who has fortitude to despise the one, and constancy to bear the other. The sage delights in those clouds of adversity, through which his virtue beams forth with peculiar lustre; and rejoices in the kind cruelties of Fortune, which subject him to difficult and glorious combats. Sensible of his own powers, he is happy to measure them against a vigorous antagonist. The victory is not liable to contingencies, but depends on himself alone; a consideration sufficient to support him against the combined strength of countless enemies.⁷⁶ When the firm probity of *Regulus* submitted his perishable body to be burned and lacerated by the *Carthaginians*, he well knew that those revengeful Barbarians could not torture his fortitude, his patriotism, his magnanimity. His

Fortitude.

⁷⁵ The illustrations given by Cic. de Fin.

⁷⁶ Ανίκητος είναι δύνασαι, εαν εις μηδεν σῶμα καταβανης, δν ουκ επι σοι νικησαι. Enchir. c. xxv.

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mind, guarded by such an assemblage and attendance of virtues, bade defiance to every assault. The mind of Regulus still triumphed; and amidst the painful discription of his frail members, he maintained and fortified the integrity of that part of his nature which properly constitutes the man, and in which alone any permanent happiness or misery can reside.

Resignation.

From the enthusiasm naturally inspired by the beautiful and august forms of benevolence and magnanimity, the stoics again returned to the speculations of abstract philosophy. In every arrangement or combination of objects, which can be called a constitution or system, the good of each part, they observed, must be relative and subordinate to that of the whole. To illustrate in the constitution most familiar to us, the body of man, the good of each limb and member, considered as something separate and independent, consisted in preserving its natural state, and in never being subjected to any fatigue or hardship, to any pain or uneasiness. But considered as the part of a system, in the good of which its own is necessarily included, this limb or member must often submit to great inconveniences. For the sake of the whole body, the foot must often trample in the dirt, must often tread upon thorns, and sometimes be burned, or lacerated, or even cut off, when such operations are requisite for the safety of the whole system. In refusing to comply, the foot ceases to be a foot; in the same manner do *you* cease to be a man, in shrinking from the hardest duties required by the

interest of society. But that society itself, as well as every member which it contains, are parts of a largesystem, that grand harmonious whole, whose consummate order and perfect beauty evince the superintendence of infinite wisdom and infinite goodness. Under such government, no absolute evil can exist; and what appears wrong respecting particular parts, must necessarily be right respecting the whole. A wise man will therefore be alike satisfied with every situation in which he may be placed; deeply convinced, that, were he acquainted with the whole connections and dependencies of events, his actual situation would, even to himself, appear the most proper that could possibly be assigned him. He uses, indeed, such means as prudence directs, to avert calamity; but when that is his lot, he cheerfully submits to the wise dispensation of Providence. The established order of the universe, he knows, is not to be changed by the prayers of men. When he prays to the Gods, it is not with a view to alter their wise purposes concerning him: he prays that they would shew him the hardest trials with which he must contend, and the severest circumstances in which he must be placed; that, by voluntarily accepting those trials, and voluntarily embracing those circumstances, he may prove his confidence in their goodness, and his perfect resignation to their sovereign will.⁷⁷

⁷⁷ Ἀγε δὴ με, ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ σὺ ἡ Περσέμενη,
Ὅποι ποθ' ὑμῖν εἰμι διατεταγμένος,
Ὡς εἴποιαι σπουδαῖος ἦδη σοκρὸς.

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XL.

Command
over the
passions.

If our own unmerited misfortunes ought never to create in us any uneasiness, so neither ought we to be affected by those of our relations, our friends, or our country. When calamity threatens connections so dear to us, we must exert ourselves strenuously in their behalf; but should our well-meant endeavours be frustrated by circumstances not liable to our controul, it would be highly ungraceful and improper to have recourse to unmanly lamentations. The same law of propriety which prompts our active exertions to the good of others, restrains our passive feelings at the sight of their distress: the former alone can be useful to *them*; the latter would be both hurtful and dishonourable to *ourselves*.

The stoical philosophy imposed therefore an absolute silence on the soft voice of pity⁷⁸, as well as on the boisterous dissonance of anger, and on all passions in general, those perturbations and diseases of the mind, which a wise man ought not merely to appease, but utterly to eradicate. As they supposed their imaginary sage capable of attaining this perfection, they inferred, that all duties were alike easy to him. *His ac-*

This reason is subjoined,

Εαν δε μη εθελω ουκ η̐ττον εφουαι.

"We ought to be willing to obey the Gods, since we *must* obey them whether we are willing or not."

⁷⁸ Epictetus, however, allows the *appearance* of sympathy with objects in distress, but sternly forbids the reality. Μεχρι μιν τοι λογου μη οκνει συμπεριφερεσθαι αυτη (viz. the person afflicted) και οδτω τυχη, συνεπιτεναζει, προσεχε μιν τοι μη και συσθην συνεπιτεναζει. Epictet. Enchir. c. xxii.

tions were continually regulated by propriety, and all of them therefore equally laudable; whereas those of a fool, or one who substituted passion and caprice in the stead of reason and principle, were all equally blameable. This doctrine, which so nearly resembles that of some Christian divines, "that the greatest virtues of the heathens were but splendid vices," is the source to which all the other paradoxes of the stoics may be traced. Both these Christians and the stoics considered good or bad actions as relative only to the cause which produces them, the affection or character from which they proceed, not to the consequences which flow from them, the good or bad effects which they tend to promote. These consequences and effects, it was observed by the stoics, depended not on ourselves. With regard to us, therefore, they were altogether indifferent; and, as such, could not possibly constitute any part of merit or demerit, or become the proper objects of praise or censure.

The ignorant vulgar, indeed, and as such the stoics considered all those who were unacquainted with their philosophy, allowed such contingent circumstances to influence their appreciation of actions and characters; and thence the extraordinary confusion introduced into religion and morality. Of two men, equally vicious, the one may be condemned to obscurity, and bereft of opportunity to exert his wickedness; the other may be raised to power, which he abuses, or entrusted with a sceptre, which becomes an iron

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Vulgar
estima-
tions of ac-
tions and
characters.

CHAP. XL. rod in his hands. To the bulk of mankind, the second appears a greater monster than the first. To the philosopher, they appear equally criminal; but the first is a storm which spends its rage in vacuity; the second a cloud, not more tempestuous, that destroys many fair objects accidentally exposed to its violence. In the same manner two men may be equally meritorious, although the one, from the unfavourable circumstances in which he is placed, may resemble a clear stream rolling through a lonesome solitude, while the other, more advantageously situate with respect to external objects, may resemble a beautiful river flowing through a populous valley, supplying the wants of man and other animals, and diffusing abundance and pleasure through the contiguous country, which it fertilises and adorns.

Corrected
by the
stoics.

The injudicious estimation of virtues and vices, by the effects which they tend to produce, is the source of that extravagant admiration on the one hand, and that excessive severity on the other, which universally characterise the judgments of the vulgar. But a wise man, who examines the first principles of action in the human heart, will neither be dazzled by the splendour of heroes and patriots, nor provoked to undue revenge against illustrious criminals.⁷⁹ The civil magistrate, who is intrusted with the interest of society, and who has that interest always in view, must chiefly regard external actions, and consi-

⁷⁹ Σημεία προκοπῆτος οὐδὲν ψεγεί, οὐδὲν επαννεί, &c. Enchir. c. lxxii.

der *them* as sufficient indications of the inward affections and character. It is his business to regulate the lives, not to purify the hearts, of men. But we may be assured that He, who can penetrate deeper than an earthly judge, governs the moral world by more refined principles, and dispenses rewards and punishments according to a more accurate standard.⁸⁰ To avert his anger, superstition commands us to repair, or compensate, the bad consequences of our misconduct, a thing often impracticable: to regain his approbation, and that of our own breasts, philosophy exhorts us to fix our chief attention, not on effects which are transitory, but on the cause, which is permanent; to be less anxious about wiping off the stain of particular sins, than solicitous to destroy the source from which they all flow. When we have accomplished this great purpose, we have reached the perfection of our nature. For the Deity, who has enjoined virtue as our duty, has placed our happiness in virtue. In performing the task assigned us, we necessarily attain our reward.⁸¹

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Such is the philosophy of the Stoics, which beside containing several contradictions which all the subtlety of the sect was unable to reconcile, evidently supposes a degree of perfection far beyond the weakness of humanity. The system of Epicurus, not less artificial in its texture, though humbler in its origin, is equally magni-

Philoso-
phy of
Epicurus.

⁸⁰ Epictet. Enchir. c. xxxviii.

⁸¹ Quod si ita est, ut neque quisquam, nisi bonus vir, et omnes boni beati sint; quid philosophiâ magis coleudum, aut quid est virtute divinius. Cicero de Fin. l. iii. ad fin.

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ficent in its conclusions.⁸² Like the lowly plant, which, at first feebly emerging from the ground, gradually rises to a stately tree towering to the sky, the philosophy of Epicurus, at first restricting the primary objects of natural desire and aversion to bodily pleasure and pain, by degrees expands itself into the fairest forms of virtue, and enforces the severest lessons of duty. That pleasure and pain are the universal objects of desire and aversion is a truth, he observed, powerfully attested by the consenting voice of all animated nature. Not only men, but children, and even brute beasts, could they emit articulate sounds, would declare and cry out, that pleasure is the sovereign good, and pain the greatest evil.⁸³ That they are, not only the greatest and most universal, but the *sole* ultimate objects of desire and aversion, Epicurus endeavoured to prove by analysing our passions, and actions, and virtues, all of which, he pretended, had, in the last instance, nothing farther in view than to procure bodily pleasure, and avoid bodily pain. If we desire power and wealth, it is because power and wealth furnish us with innumerable means of enjoyment. Sensible that the good-will of the society in which we live is necessary to our security, we strive assiduously to acquire it, cultivate friendship, exercise benevolence, and practise with diligence and alacrity all those social virtues essential to the public safety, in which our own is included. When it is necessary to reject a present pleasure, in order to

⁸² Diogen. Laert. in *Aristip.* & *Epicur.*

⁸³ Cicero de *Finibus*, l. i. c. 9. et passim.

attain a greater in future, temperance must moderate the eagerness of desire; and, when it is necessary to encounter a present pain, in order to avoid a greater in future, fortitude must controul the dictates of pusillanimity. Justice teaches us to abstain from injuring others, as the only condition on which we can escape being injured by them. And prudence, which, according to Epicurus is the queen of all the virtues, and to which justice, temperance, and fortitude, are barely handmaids and attendants, invariably points out to us, and enforces, that course of action which is most conducive to our private comfort and happiness. This course of action is acknowledged by all moralists to consist in the practice of virtue; so that virtue, according to Epicurus, is the only true wisdom, and vice the most short-sighted levity, and weakest folly.

To illustrate this doctrine, he observed, that though all the modifications of hope and fear ultimately refer to the sensations of bodily pleasure or pain, yet the pleasures and pains of the mind are infinitely more important than their originals. The body can only feel the sensation of the present moment, which can never be of great importance; whereas the mind recollects the past, and anticipates the future. If our mental frame, therefore, be properly adjusted, if our sentiments and judgments be duly regulated, it is a matter of little moment how our bodies may be disposed; we shall despise its pleasures, and even set its pains at defiance. If pain be violent, experience teaches us that it must be short; it cannot be continued long without be-

His analysis of pleasure and pain.

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coming moderate, and admitting many intervals of ease ; besides, death is always within our reach, and ready at a call to deliver us, whenever life becomes a burden.

Bold pre-
tensions of
his philo-
sophy.

By this kind of philosophical chemistry, Epicurus extracted from the grossest materials, the most sublime principles of wisdom and virtue. His philosophy imposed absolute silence on the passions ; since no state, and, therefore, not the little republic of man, can be happy in sedition. In this tranquillity of mind, he boasted a felicity which external pleasures might vary, but could not increase ; and his security of enjoyment he asserted to be equally firm and unalterable with that of the Gods, since the most unbounded duration could not afford greater happiness than arose from reflecting, that all our pleasures and pains are confined within a narrow span. Having adopted the atomic philosophy of Democritus, he rendered it subservient to his morality. The phænomena of nature, he fancied, might be explained by the figures and motions of the small particles of matter ; and as the universe arose, so did it continue, without the interference of the Gods, those celestial beings, who, enjoying complete happiness in themselves, and totally independent on the actions of men, are neither gratified by our virtues, nor offended by our crimes. Confiding in the certainty of these speculations, he trampled under-foot the superstitious terrors of the vulgar, and fortified his mind against the fear of death.⁶⁴

⁶⁴ Lucretius, *passim*.

Such were the tenets of Epicurus, than whom no philosopher was ever more admired and beloved by his disciples, or more cordially attached to them in affectionate esteem. He is described as a man of the most amiable disposition, of great gentleness and humanity; and, like Eudoxus, who preceded him, and who inculcated the same loose doctrines of religion and morality, extremely temperate with regard to pleasure; a circumstance which failed not to add much reputation to his philosophy. In his character, the firm and manly, were united with the gentler virtues. When grievously afflicted with the stone, he bore the agony incident to that disease with the greatest constancy; and, in the last day of his life, when his pain had reached a degree beyond which he could conceive none greater, wrote to his friend Hermachus³⁵, and recommended to him the children of his favourite disciple Metrodorus, assuring him, at the same time, that as to himself, he still was happy, since the smart of his bodily sufferings was more than compensated by the pleasures of his mind, and particularly by the agreeable remembrance of his discoveries; a declaration, however inconsistent it may be deemed with his opinions, highly honourable to the man.

Such were the philosophical systems respecting life and happiness, by which the more liberal part of mankind long affected to regulate their sentiments and conduct. The excessive scepti-

Philosophy of Pyrrho.

³⁵ Vid. Diogen. Laert. l. x. sect. 9. & Cic. de Finibus, l. ii. c. 30. et seq.

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cism of Pyrrho, which none could reduce to practice without meriting the charge of insanity, seems never, even in theory, to have had much vogue among the speculatists of antiquity. In matters of doubtful evidence, indeed, a prudent suspension of judgment had been recommended by Socrates, enforced by Plato, and extended to subjects of every kind by their followers Arcesilas and Carneades.⁸⁶ These philosophers, however, in denying certainty, still admitted probability, which they thought sufficient for regulating our judgments and actions. But the extravagant Pyrrho was dogmatical only in maintaining, that no one opinion was more probable than another. The non-existence of sensible qualities, which had been proved by Democritus⁸⁷, Protagoras⁸⁸, and Aristippus⁸⁹, and which is commonly supposed a modern discovery, because the contrary opinion obtained among the schoolmen, probably led Pyrrho to deny the reality likewise of moral qualities and distinctions. As heat and cold, tastes and colours, had no external existence in

⁸⁶ Because Socrates and Plato doubted some things, these philosophers doubted all. Vid. Cicer. Acad. l. i. They formed, what was called the New Academy, which held the same tenets with the old, only asserting them less positively.

⁸⁷ See Sextus Empiricus, p. 399.

⁸⁸ Pyrrhon. Hypot. l. i. sect. 216.

⁸⁹ *Præterea quoniam nequeunt sine luce colores
Esse, neque in luce existunt primordia rerum;
Scire licet, quam sint nullo velata colore.*

*Sed ne forte putes solo spoliata colore
Corpora prima manere; etiam secreta teporis,
Sunt, ac frigoris omnino, &c.* LUCRATIUS, l. ii.

bodies, and were mere ideas of the mind ; in the same manner, beauty and deformity, virtue and vice, happiness and misery, had no real or permanent cause, but depended, like every thing else, on relation or comparison. Upon this principle, " that all was relative"⁹⁰, Pyrrho established topics for enabling his sect readily to dispute the truth of all positions whatever ; which topics he reduced to ten⁹¹, probably in opposition to the ten categories of the dogmatists. The great patron of Pyrrhonism boasts, that while other philosophers wandered in pursuit of a false and artificial happiness, Pyrrho alone had discovered the true and natural one, and that, by an accident similar to the painter⁹², who having finished the picture of a dog all to the foam of his mouth, could not, after repeated trials, satisfy himself in painting this last circumstance. Enraged by disappointment, he at length dashed against the canvas the sponge with which he wiped his pencils. Accident produced the effect which he had vainly sought from art ; and the foam was represented so naturally, that the picture, though admirable in other respects, was chiefly admired on this account. Fatigued by many painful researches into the nature of truth and virtue, Pyrrho, in the same manner, had discovered that truth and

⁹⁰ Πᾶντα πρὸς τι. Sextus Empiric.

⁹¹ Sextus Empiric. Hypothet. Pyrrhon, l. i. c. 14. & Diogen. Laert. in Pyrrhon.

⁹² Sextus Empiric. l. i. c. 12. Sextus calls the painter Apelles. Pliny, l. xxxv. c. 20. ascribes this accident to Protogenes, and a similar one to Nealces, in painting a horse.

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sion.

virtue were nowhere to be found; a discovery which produced that moderation and *indisturbance*²³, that happy indifference, or rather perfect insensibility, which is as naturally attended by happiness, as a body is followed by its shadow.²⁴

In concluding this work with the scepticism of Pyrrho, it is proper to observe, for the honour of Greece, that though the doctrines which that philosopher inculcated can have no other tendency than to unhinge the moral principles, to darken and perplex the mind; yet those systems of his contemporaries, or predecessors, which have been more particularly explained in the present history, amidst all their apparent contradictions, uniformly afford such views of nature and of man, as awaken or heighten our love for both. Established on firm grounds of reason, they evince the indissoluble union of interest with duty, display the beauty of virtue in its brightest charms, and unmask the hideous spectres of fancy and superstition.

²³ *Αταραξία*. Sextus Empiric.²⁴ *Ibid.* ubi supra, et passim.

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